



2005
STUDENT
SHOWCASE
JOURNAL

UNIVERSITY *of* ALASKA ANCHORAGE



2005

STUDENT
SHOWCASE
JOURNAL

VOLUME 21

UNIVERSITY *of* ALASKA ANCHORAGE

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University of Alaska Anchorage

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The Journal

Published works in the 2005 Student Showcase Journal were the award winning presentations of papers, projects, and performances at the twenty-first annual Student Showcase Conference held at the University of Alaska Anchorage on April 6-8, 2005.



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The Student Showcase Program

The UAA Student Showcase Program is designed to highlight the extraordinary work of students throughout the University of Alaska Anchorage system. It is with great pride that we present the Student Showcase Journal for 2005.

The Student Showcase Academic Conference and Journal have been in existence for twenty-one years. The conference is a unique program in the State of Alaska with only students presenting original papers, musical performances, and projects. The Student Showcase Committee examines policies and procedures, reviews promotional materials, and selects award recipients.

Each year the Student Showcase creates opportunities for dialogue among university and community members. Students submit their best work for evaluation by objective faculty members from their discipline; selected works are presented at the conference; and distinguished community members are invited to evaluate, critique and comment on the students' works. The very best papers, performances and projects are published in the Student Showcase Journal, CD, and, for the first time this year, DVD.

Students participated in the academic conference held on April 6, 7, and 8, 2005. From the eighty-four entries submitted, thirty-six were presented at the conference, and eight were chosen as award recipients. The conference participants (students, staff, faculty, and conference commentators) were invited to attend an awards luncheon where the winners were announced.

The UAA Student Showcase continues to be a success year after year and it is due to the continued support of faculty members, and of course, UAA students! We hope that this journal reflects the dedication and commitment of all those involved.



About the Student Showcase

Searching for Excellence



The UAA Student Showcase was designed to meet students' developmental needs, search for excellence among students' works, expose students to activities important to an academic lifestyle, and develop closer working relationships among students, faculty, staff and administrators at UAA and between UAA and the community. The Student Showcase and journal still remain unique in Alaska and provide a sense of accomplishment, recognition, and pride for our students and university.

Sharon K. Araji
Showcase Founder
Professor and Chair, Sociology



Table of Contents

Award Winning Presenters

Sex, Marriage, and <i>Charlotte Temple</i> in the 21st Century.	1
<i>Lisa Benesch</i>	
<i>True North 2004</i>	15
<i>Liz Brooks & Brian Bublit</i>	
Performance: Jose Luis Merlin's <i>Suite del Recuerdo</i>	19
<i>Garrett Ennis</i>	
The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement: 1900-1950	23
<i>D'Arcy Hutchings</i>	
Atlantic Salmon:	55
Invasion Threatens the Pacific, an Analysis and Recommendation	
<i>Lindsay Johnson</i>	
<i>Homo Sovieticus</i> :	65
Survival and Optimism in Stalinist Russia	
<i>Adrianne Knott</i>	
Performance: <i>Cruzada</i>	77
<i>Katya Kuznetsova</i>	
Political Poetry in the Aftermath of September 11th, 2001: . . .	79
An Analysis of Auden's "September 1, 1939" & Baraka's "Somebody Blew Up America"	
<i>Mercedes O'Leary</i>	

Presenters

Honorable Mentions	91
Other Presenters.	93



2005 Student Showcase Winners



*Front Row (L-R): Lindsay Johnson, Adrianne Knott, Lisa Benesch,
Mercedes O'Leary, Liz Brooks, Katya Kuznetsova, D'Arcy Hutchings
Back Row: Garrett Ennis, Brian Bublitz*



Sex, Marriage, and *Charlotte Temple* in the 21st Century

Lisa Benesch

English 306: Literature of the United States
Dr. Richard T. Widdicombe, Professor

Susanna Rowson's late eighteenth-century text, *Charlotte Temple*, is considered to be the first best-seller of American literature. While some critics believe that the sentimental nature of this semi-autobiographical tale found a wide audience among early colonial American readers, there is another and more plausible theory that suggests *Charlotte Temple's* popularity was based on its "heavily didactic [style which] claimed to be based on truth, and followed what was to become a standard seduction plot" (Parker 518). In the nineteenth century, this text served as not only a tale of warning to innocent girls and their maternal protectors of the sexual improprieties of young men, but also an "example of virtue fallen through seduction and sexuality" (Rust 99). In the twenty-first century, *Charlotte Temple* serves as an example of the need to provide a sound and comprehensive education, and to support intellectual freedom of choice for women in the areas of sex and marriage.

Contemporary reactions to the fall and eventual demise of *Charlotte Temple* at the hands of the unscrupulous Montraville run from sentimental sympathy to complete dismay at her obvious lack of knowledge.¹ However, in order to address the issue, neither

sympathy for Charlotte nor blame against Montraville should play a role in the discussion. Rather than focusing on emotion, the issue should be approached by addressing the rigid and excessive value assigned to female virtue, the secrecy of human sexuality, the construct of marriage, and the poor preparation of our young women who must meet the contemporary challenge of changing expectations on sex and marriage.

American literature has a long history that supports the high value assigned to the combination of virtue and beauty in women. For example, Edith Wharton's early twentieth-century novel *The House of Mirth* tells the story of the orphan Lily Bart and her tragic fall from the approval of her upper-class society. Lily's beauty is such that it "must have cost a great deal to make, that a great many dull and ugly people must, in some mysterious way, have been sacrificed to produce her" (Wharton, *The House of Mirth* 5). In spite of Lily's relative poverty, her beauty and virginity provide access to the social circle that could produce a wealthy, albeit loveless, marriage. However, as Lily tries to increase her material wealth in order to afford the façade that characterizes her social circle, she unwittingly enters into an unusual financial arrangement that is construed as an act of impropriety. Thus sullied, instead of receiving support from her sisterly peer group, she is condemned for her behavior and ostracized from society.

The unsanctioned behaviors of Lily Bart and Charlotte Temple lead to their ruin. Instead of receiving support from the collectivity of women, these young women find that "the merciless world has barred the doors of compassion against [them]" (Rowson 74). Lily and Charlotte each find death as the only available act of redemption. Death is a severe conclusion for young ladies whose own "proper" upbringings promote the "innocence that seals the mind against imagination and the heart against experience" (Wharton, *The Age of Innocence* 128).

Charlotte Temple warns that once a woman has fallen, she will

find herself “forfeited [from] the good opinion of the world” (67). While this society relies on the Christian tenet that premarital sex is sinful as a basis for their disapproval, it does not accept the prodigal daughter and “raise the poor penitent [and] whisper peace and comfort to her desponding soul” (Rowson 56). However, the message of Jesus implores that only those who are without sin cast the first stone. Even Jesus forgives the penitent and asks that she go and sin no more (*The New American Bible*, John 8:7-11). Therefore, it is hypocritical of a Christian society to pronounce harsh judgments on transgressors in the absence of mercy and forgiveness. This form of hypocrisy serves to support society’s desire to enforce marriage as the only viable institution against sin, even as it fails to see that it is the greater sin to withhold mercy and forgiveness.

American society considers marriage as the best solution for avoiding the sins of fornication and adultery. As William Shakespeare reveals in his early seventeenth-century play *Measure for Measure*, this is not a new concept. This play directly addresses society’s issues against sex and sin and proposes marriage as the ultimate solution.² This play is uncanny, or perhaps it is testimony to the genius of Shakespeare, in its applicability to twenty-first-century American issues. As Shakespeare constructs a scenario that supports the need for reform against sexual sins, especially fornication, he creates two characters that represent the views of the opposite ends of the conservative religious spectrum. The character of Angelo represents the religious view that represses sexuality and treats sexual sins as legal crimes. This form of repression requires each person to lead a life of continuous self-control and leaves little or no room for the understanding of human nature. In contrast, the character of Isabella represents the conservative Catholic view of sex and sin. While conservative Catholics recognize that sexual sin exists, their response is to cloister feminine virtue and vulnerability from the lust of men. As the play

demonstrates, the human sexual condition can be neither repressed nor cloistered. When Isabella seeks a pardon from Angelo for her brother's capital crime of fornication, her virtuous presence appeals to Angelo's repressed sexual desire. In effect, Angelo becomes virtue tempted by virtue. This discovery sends him into a fit of desire that causes to commit fornication and to commission murder. Isabella, in her position as a Catholic postulate, places the value of her chastity over the value of her brother's life. By giving this virtue overarching importance, she sacrifices the virtues of mercy and charity when she refuses to give up her virginity to Angelo in a bargain for her brother's life.

As all things tend to work out, more or less, at the end of Shakespeare's plays, there are three, possibly four, marriages at the conclusion of *Measure for Measure*. While this play supports the concept of marriage as a solution for sin, the conclusion is not wrought without disguise and deception. It is the "bed trick," the "head trick," and the disguise of the Duke of Vienna, who is pulling a few Machiavellian strings behind the scenes, that bring about this resolution. In twenty-first century society, the question that must be raised from *Measure for Measure*'s conclusion is whether society should keep up the disguise and deception, and the repression and retreat, in its attempts to promote marriage and premarital abstinence from sex as solutions to sin.

Nineteenth-century intellectual Ralph Waldo Emerson submits that men "invented marriage; and surrounded by religion, by comeliness, by all manner of dignities and renunciations, the union of the sexes" (332). He follows by proposing that, through marriage, "[w]oman find in man her guardian" (340). This logic proceeds from the practice where a daughter moves directly from the guardianship of her father to that of her husband. However, it should follow that a woman be able to determine whether or not a proposed husband possesses the necessary competency, love, and respectability that would make him a good guardian. Fortunately,

Margaret Fuller, in her early feminist text *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, rejects the Emersonian notions by pointing out that marriage and male guardianship are inherently flawed. She notes that these ideas and institutions are created by imperfect men and are full of obstacles to women because

[i]t may be said that man does not have his fair play either; his energies are repressed and distorted by the interposition of artificial obstacles. Ay, but he himself has put them there; they have grown out of his own imperfections. If there is a misfortune in woman's lot, it is in obstacles being interposed by men. (27)

In Fuller's view, marriage should be considered "an intellectual companionship [where] the parties meet mind to mind, and a mutual trust is produced, which can buckler them against a million" (46). However, the high divorce rate, the declining marriage rate, and the increasing amount of couples living together outside marriage in the United States suggests that the institution of marriage still suffers from its inherent flaws and continues to create obstacles to women.³

In spite of our country's high rate of divorce, marriage is still offered as the sanctioned twenty-first-century solution to human sexual desire. However, marriage should not be considered as the best and only option available to women. According to Fuller, marriage is a union that "is only possible to those who are units" (71). Women cannot be "units" until they have the intellectual freedom to discover their own needs and desires, to weigh all the options available to them, and to make their own choices about sex and marriage. In *Charlotte Temple*, Charlotte was never allowed to become a viable "unit." Her lack of intellectual freedom allows Montraville to easily take control of her destiny and cause her to ignore the faint cries of her undeveloped intuition.

While parents are the primary educators for their children, Emerson asserts that women play a large part in the education of

youth and in “the tuition of older children [as their] organic office in the world” (330). In accepting this statement as true, women, through their own lack of education and intellectual freedom, have been unable to dispel the myths relating to chastity, sex, and marriage. In *Charlotte Temple*, the “branches of education which . . . give most pleasure to [her] delighted parents” are the feminine arts of music, language, and history (45). These subjects are not complementary to, but in lieu of, an education that explores the concepts of sex, desire, and other conditions of human sexuality. With an inadequate education, Charlotte is unable to know “the deceitfulness of her own heart” (38). As an unenlightened and defenseless woman, Charlotte cannot counter Montraville’s argument that her concerns are “merely the chimeras of a disturbed fancy” (43). Had Charlotte been properly prepared for the predatory attitudes of Montraville, she would not have succumbed to his self-centered logic.

By suffering young women to be ill-educated, society only creates “victims of the finer temperament [who] have tears, and gaieties, and faintings, and glooms, and devotions to trifles” (Emerson 336). It is Charlotte who suffers from “faintings” at the worst possible moment. Common sense insists, therefore, that if Charlotte “is expected to face calamity with courage, she must be instructed and trusted in prosperity” (Fuller 55). Instead following a sound intuition that would have protected her from “ruin, shame, and remorse” (Rowson 46), Charlotte allows the unworthy Montraville to be her guide. As Charlotte is physically lifted into the chaise that will propel her on her journey into shame, she cannot summon a substantial argument to support her desire for happiness; rather, she can only shriek and faint as she is carried away.

Instead of promoting the benefits of intellectual freedom for women, the Catholic Church, in an opinion issued on the status of twenty-first-century education, insists that one of the causes of the current social decline rests in the pursuit of educational equality for

women. According to John McCloskey, S.T.D., of the Catholic Information Center, women, who are pursuing post-secondary education previously reserved for men preparing to enter the professional world, have been encouraged “to place professional work above marriage and family” (McCloskey). As substantiation for their position, the Church erroneously argues that women seek equality or “sameness” with men (McCloskey). However, women do not seek to be like men, or to compete with men, but to have a unique freedom that is “the intelligent freedom of the universe . . . with God alone as their guide and their judge” (Fuller 36). Unfortunately, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church has a reputation for being inflexible to change and a formidable obstacle to freedom of choice for women. Since the Church asserts that motherhood is every woman’s ultimate goal, it is easy to understand that it is impossible for the governing hierarchy of the Church to accept intellectual freedom for women when such freedom provides them with an informed basis to either accept or reject sex, marriage, and/or motherhood.

In educating young women in the twenty-first century, sex must no longer be treated as a taboo subject and discussed only amid whispers and giggles. To repress or retreat from the truths of human sexuality is folly since the “ultimate result of shielding [wo]men from the effects of folly is to fill the world with fools” (Spencer). American poet Walt Whitman, in his poem “I Sing the Body Electric,” expresses that the constant regeneration of the human race is adequate evidence that sexual behavior exists, and refutes the concept that sex is not practiced “because [it is] not expressed in parlors and lecture-rooms” (7.98). Whitman writes that humans are created of longing and sensual desire and that sexual desire between humans is a natural condition. He describes the uncontrollable quality of sexual attraction as “[m]ad filaments” that glow with desire when made incandescent by the irrepressible electrical current that attracts humans to each other (5.51).

Therefore, instead of trying to repress the fundamentals of human sexuality, they should be brought out into the open, taught, and discussed as truthfully and as objectively as any other topic of human health and welfare.

Before open and objective sex education can be accomplished, the “artificial obstacles” placed by our society must be removed (Fuller 27). According to an article by Susan Yudt for Planned Parenthood, government-funded abstinence-based sex education for high-school students “put teens’ health in jeopardy by giving them dangerously misleading and inaccurate information about sex, pregnancy, birth control, sexually transmitted infections, and abortion” (Yudt). Citing a study released by Rep. Henry Waxman, a Democrat from California, Yudt points out that the inaccuracies presented in modern sex education range from erroneous statistics to misleading statements about the desires and expectations of men and women. She also notes that these programs do not “allow for the reality that many teens are sexually active, and many who aren’t sexually active don’t plan to abstain from sexual activity until marriage” (Yudt). While sex education exists in the United States public school system, this article suggests that there has been little progress made in the areas of truth and accuracy. More importantly, however, this information should promote a sense of awareness among parents that sex education should not be delegated to a politically-motivated government, but should be addressed openly and accurately at home.

In addition to the inaccuracies of sex education, many conservative religious and governmental organizations have opposed methods that give women greater freedom over their health and sexuality, including reliable birth control. Nineteenth-century laws promoted the “underlying American belief that contraception was lewd, immoral and promoted promiscuity” (“Anthony Comstock’s ‘Chastity’ Laws”). These laws, enacted in 1873 and referred to as the “Comstock Laws,” were still in effect in 30 states as late as

1960. Even with the development of a reliable oral contraceptive for women in 1959, the U. S. Government's Food and Drug Administration was not comfortable with the idea that the purpose of oral contraceptives "was not to cure a medical ailment [but] given to healthy women for long-term use for a social purpose" ("The U.S. Food and Drug Administration Approves the Pill"). Despite the government's internal attempts to delay and/or prevent its approval, a conditional-use approval for "The Pill" was issued by the FDA on May 11, 1960. At that point, women rejoiced, in the words of playwright Clare Boothe Luce, that "modern woman is at last free as a man is free to dispose of her own body" (qtd. in "The U.S. Food and Drug Administration Approves the Pill").

It is a hypocritical and strongly patriarchal society that denounces birth control while it pronounces the introduction of Viagra, a prescription medicine to treat male impotency, as manna from heaven. According to Planned Parenthood, more than one-half of all Viagra prescriptions were covered by health insurance policies only two months after it was introduced into the market.⁴ By contrast, it was a remarkable 39 years after the FDA approval of oral contraceptives that federal employees were granted health insurance benefits on this product ("Equity in Prescription Insurance and Contraceptive Coverage").⁵ Since the current majority of out-of-wedlock births occur to lower-income and poorly educated young women, these rates will continue to increase as long as the government and other patriarchal institutions attempt to control the choices of women through restricted education and health services.⁶

The "artificial obstacles" of expectations, laws, and other legal impediments created by fundamental and conservative institutions indicate that government is no better guardian for women than men are. Even President George H. W. Bush, a conservative Republican, stated in his remarks at the Commencement Ceremony for the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, on May 4,

1991, that “[i]f we’ve learned anything in the past quarter century, it is that we cannot federalize virtue. Indeed, as we pile law upon law, program upon program, rule upon rule, we actually can weaken people’s moral sensitivity” (Bush). However, in spite of these words, the laws, programs, and rules that attempt to govern sex and marriage in the United States do not appear to be lessening. Therefore, it is imperative that the moral sensitivities for all twenty-first century “Charlotte Temples” be strengthened through education and intellectual freedom. It is important that women be able to separate the wheat from the chaff with their own natural talents. By insuring that “every arbitrary barrier [is] thrown down [and] every path laid open to woman as freely as to man,” women will be able to make conscientious and informed decisions about sex and marriage for the overall improvement of society (Fuller 20).

Notes

¹ According to Halsey’s “Introduction” to the 1905 edition of *Charlotte Temple*, he suggests that Rowson’s description of Charlotte’s situation evokes our “sympathies [and] appeal[s] to what is elemental in our nature and what is also eternal” (xxxviii). Dismay, rather than sympathy, at the ignorance and folly of Charlotte and her parents is my response.

² Shakespeare also reminds his audience of the “Gospel According to Matthew,” which says that people should not judge one another, least they be judged for their own sins “and the measure with which you measure will be measured out to you” (*The New American Bible*, Matt. 7:1-2).

³ The U.S. Government’s Center for Disease Control maintains detailed and comprehensive statistics for marriage and divorce rates, including rates by age group (Munson and Sutton). The U. S. divorce rates are highest in the religiously conservative Southern “Bible Belt” states where women receive less education and marry in early

adulthood. It is an interesting statistic when compared with the lowest divorce rates in the more liberal states of the Northeast, where women achieve higher levels of education and marry later.

⁴ This statistic is also supported by the Center for Reproductive Rights (“Contraceptive Equity Bills Gain Momentum in State Legislatures”).

⁵ According to Planned Parenthood, the *Equity in Prescription Insurance and Contraceptive Coverage Act* (EPICC) is currently before Congress. This bill will attempt to provide equity in private insurance coverage for contraception. The bill’s sponsors indicate that the enactment of this bill is necessary in order to establish a standard that all states may follow in the future. As of July 2003, only 21 states have contraceptive equity laws (“Contraceptive Equity Bills Gain Momentum in State Legislatures”).

⁶ Daniel Lichter’s paper entitled “The Retreat from Marriage and the Rise in Nonmarital Fertility” contained in the *Report to Congress on Out-of-Wedlock Childbearing*, issued by the Department of Health and Human Services, provides detailed statistics regarding the rates of out-of-wedlock births by age group, in addition to an abundance of related information.

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True North 2004

Liz Brooks & Brian Publitz

Journalism & Public Communications 401: Magazine Production
Ms. Paola Banchero, Assistant Professor

From the editors:

While planning True North 2004, a staff member suggested running a story about urban sprawl's effect on dog mushing. We figured that as more people build homes near dog lots in the Mat-Su Valley, the newcomers would chafe at the sound of barking dogs. Bob Martinson, a True North photographer, volunteered to contact local dog mushing legend Martin Buser. Bob had met Buser at a Seawolves basketball game and assured us he would welcome Bob's call. But when Bob called Buser, the musher remembered nothing of Bob.

When True North regrouped, we decided to change the focus of the dog mushing article to Buser's relationship with his dogs, and Bob signed up to take photos for the article. During the photo shoot, Bob and Buser hit it off so well that Buser invited Bob to the Iditarod's kick-off party.

The evolution of Bob and Buser's relationship reflects the characteristic of Alaska that True North 2004 articulates. In an environment as vast as Alaska, our relationships are closely knit. Common threads bind us to each other and to our environment.

Welcome to True North 2004.

Ten students enrolled in JPC 401: Magazine Production to create True North 2004, a glossy general-interest magazine written, edited and produced by students at UAA. We had 15-weeks to plan the magazine's content, write and edit its articles, sell enough advertising to cover printing costs, and distribute the final product before students vacated campus for summer break.

During our first meeting, we picked a theme for the entire magazine and brainstormed article ideas to fit that theme. We assigned tasks and set a production timeline. Writers got busy finding sources and conducting interviews.

Everyone was responsible for selling ads, which quickly proved to be the most challenging part of our project. None of us had ever sold advertising, and no business had ever heard of True North. It's only an annual magazine with a circulation of 5,000, which is too infrequent and too few copies to attract many readers and advertisers. Then we got some advice from an experienced ad salesman: don't go after businesses that expect increased customer traffic because of an ad in our magazine. Instead, he said to solicit businesses wanting to show their support for our school and our effort. We did, and we met our quota.

After articles were written and edited, photos were taken and ads sold, we had to design the pages of our magazine. We wanted a clean, subtle and timeless design that would complement the photos and writing. We achieved it through a less-is-more approach.

We printed our magazine on glossy, heavy paper for its durability, look and feel. We wanted True North 2004 to be a magazine people saved.



Brian Publitz

Kodiak, AK

Kodiak H.S., 2001

BA Journalism & Public Communications, UAA 2005



Liz Brooks

Juneau, AK

Juneau-Douglas H.S., 2002

BA Journalism & Public Communications, UAA, anticipated 2006



Performance: Jose Luis Merlin's *Suite del Recuerdo*

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Music 462: Private Lesson / Guitar
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Born in Argentina, Jose Luis Merlin started playing guitar at age five under the instruction of Vincente Degese and later Abel Carlenaro. By the age of nine, he was performing around Argentina. He is now a world renowned guitarist/composer that has toured around the world, composed works for solo guitar, guitar and violin, guitar and string quartet, and for piano and voice. Merlin is currently the Director of the Music Department and a Guitar Professor at the Mundo-Velazquez School of Music in Madrid, Spain.

Suite del Recuerdo consists of six movements. This collection of songs captures the essence of the folk song and dance of Merlin's native Argentina. Merlin played this Suite at a concert dedicated to the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo*. Afterwards, he received from a female attendee a scrap of paper upon which was written a barely legible phrase: "La memoria es como la describiste: nostálgica, tempestuosa, juguetona, alegre, y triunfal. Lola..." (The memory is how you described it: nostalgic, tempestuous, playful, happy, and triumphant.) This is homage to that memory; to his memory and to the collective memory of his town which exists in a state of nostalgia, misfortune, and anguish, yet is happy and hopeful; to the memory of the uncultivated countryside in San Luis with its rustic

smells and sounds of nature; it is about the memory of the grandparents, aunts and uncles, parents, brothers and sisters, cousins, all enjoying the company of each other outdoors on the patio, under the cool shade of trees, and sharing the emotions the guitarists evoke in the evening. Many of these folks are no longer living, but, as Merlin writes, they continue to live on in memory.

The first movement, *Evocacion* opens with a very lyrical nostalgic theme. It is reminiscent of the musical form, *estilo*, found in the Pampas. This theme returns as the fifth movement and, although unusual, is an effective device before the final vivacious movement. The second movement, *Zamba*, is a dance from the northwestern region of Argentina. Typically danced between a man and a woman in a courtship-like manner, the *zamba* is related to the Chilean *cueca* and the Peruvian *marinera*. You can find the origins of the third movement, *Chacarera*, in the province of Santiago del Estero, but this can also be heard throughout Argentina with regional variants. It begins with a kind of emotional lament. The fourth movement is another northwestern dance, *Carnavalito*. The *carnavalito* originated from the pre-Lenten festival of Carneval. The sixth and final movement, *Joropo*, is a characteristic dance originally found in Venezuela that is also similar to the *marinera*. Contrasting the lively dance of this piece, the introduction begins with a mournful phrase that conjures up the sounds of the wooden flutes of the Andes.

During the 2003-2004 school year, I was enrolled at Utah State University through the National Student Exchange in Logan, Utah. It was during this time that I picked up *Evocacion* while studying with the Director of the Guitar Program, Michael Christiansen. He pulled out this piece one day and said, "Here, check this out." I did not realize until after learning it and returning back to Anchorage to continue my studies at UAA that this piece is only one of six movements of a whole Suite. So, in the Fall of 2004, I started my studies with *Suite del Recuerdo*. I added *Chacarera* and *Joropo* first

and later in 2005 added *Zamba* and *Carnavalito*. The toughest challenge for me was (and still is) the arpeggiated chords in the beginning of *Carnavalito* and the rhythms towards the end of it. It calls for near virtuosity in skill and technique to get the timing and accuracy just right, especially when the piece gets louder and more vibrant and the thumb and middle finger strumming must alternate with the rasgueado technique to execute the dynamic rhythm.



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The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement 1900-1950

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Late in the night of Friday, June 27th, 1969 police raided the Stonewall Inn in New York City. What was expected to be a routine gay bar raid quickly became a riot in which gays and lesbians fought back, shouting, "Gay power!" and throwing bottles and rocks. Every night for five days the riot continued, with more and more gay men and women joining each night. It was the first time a large number of homosexuals had resisted arrest and collectively rebelled. The riot sparked an enormous increase in the membership of gays and lesbians in homosexual organizations, which quickly became far more political, confrontational and demanding than they had been in the past. For many, this event, referred to simply as "Stonewall," marks the beginning of the American gay liberation movement that continues to this day.

One might ask of the Stonewall incident, how did a movement of that size and intensity form almost overnight? The answer is it did not. Hidden from history and from the public eye was a movement that developed and evolved gradually over six or more decades.

The development of the gay rights movement is one of many

topics in the history of homosexuality in America that is largely unexplored. Before 1985, only a few historians produced work on the subject. The most prominent pioneers are Jonathan Katz, John D'Emilio, and Salvatore Licata. Katz compiled two primary document collections, *Gay American History* in 1976 and *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* in 1985, before almost anyone was studying homosexuality in American history. These two thick documentary books are still the most used and most important published primary source anthologies on the topic. D'Emilio is considered a founding father of gay American history for his 1983 book, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, in which he explores the origins of the gay liberation movement from the homophile movement in the 1950s to Stonewall. Salvatore Licata is an important early historian who is not given the credit he deserves for writing what is not only one of the earliest, but one of the best works on the movement. His 1980 article, "The Homosexual Rights Movement," which is discussed in depth below, includes the major highlights of the movement from 1908 through 1979 and addresses the important early origins of the movement that most other histories neglect. A handful of other historians produced books and articles prior to the mid-1980s, but they remain obscure and are rarely cited, including Dennis Altman's *Homosexual Oppression and Liberation* (1971) and Jack Onge's *The Gay Liberation Movement* (1971). Both written in response to Stonewall, these histories are largely incomplete and include some inaccuracies, making them only minimally useful for research. Writers from other disciplines, such as sociology, have contributed to the field as well, including Edward Sagarin who wrote the *Structure and Ideology in an Association of Deviants* (1966). Though the dissertation deals primarily with the sociology of a specific homophile organization, the Mattachine Society, it does address that organization's "historical precedents" thoroughly.

As an emerging field of historical study, there is still much to

be discovered and much room for revision in gay American history. As contemporary historians revise the conclusions of the first generation of historians of homosexuality, future historians will revise and build upon the histories written today, including the present study, as more information and documents become available. Special gay and lesbian archive collections, most created in the past twenty years, are growing and acquiring more sources for use by future historians.

In the past twenty years, gay liberation historians have increasingly begun to recognize that the gay liberation movement began long before the Stonewall riots. Unfortunately, this recognition is most often found in a single sentence, paragraph or page. Those historians who give the early movement and the early movers the recognition they deserve most often trace the origins primarily to the "homophile movement" of the 1950s. During this decade, gay men and women successfully formed discussion groups and homosexual organizations, such as Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis, to educate both the general public and homosexuals as well as to advocate gay rights.

Margaret Cruikshank, a prominent historian of American homosexuality, is one of many who link the post-Stonewall movement to the homophile movement that developed out of World War II. "Stonewall would not have had such an electrifying effect," she writes, "...if pioneering advocates of equal rights for homosexuals had not worked from 1950 to 1969 to lay the groundwork for a broader movement."¹ Like others, Cruikshank acknowledges only the homophile movement as the origin for the later movement. Eric Marcus, in his essential book of interviews with individuals involved in the movement, traces the movement only to World War II. To his credit, there may not have been an option to interview those involved in the earlier origins, as few would likely have been living in 1990 to tell their story. The leading historian of gay issues, John D'Emilio similarly limits his scope, looking only as far back as

1940 and World War II's impact on the formation of a movement in his *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*. He hardly mentions actions of individuals prior to 1940s in his assessment. Again, to his credit, D'Emilio was one of the earliest historians to explore gay history at all, so he should be commended for discovering and arguing for any history before Stonewall.

George Chauncey finds a similarity between the roles that Stonewall and the homophile movement fill in gay history. "We have failed to see the gay subculture that existed before World War II... [because] it has been obscured by the dramatic growth of gay subculture after the war."² Though this historian is specifically speaking of the gay subculture and not of early attempts to establish a gay liberation movement, his idea here is still relevant. Just as Stonewall overshadows what came before, the homophile movement of the 1950s overshadows the earlier roots of the movement. While the homophile movement is an important aspect of the overall gay liberation movement, and World War II was certainly a turning point, it alone is not the foundation of the gay liberation movement. To emphasize the homophile movement is to neglect the earlier origins of the movement, the events and individuals who broke ground for the later movement. In order to gain an accurate picture of the movement's history, one must look at least back as far as the first few decades of the twentieth century.

If such a history exists decades before 1969, why is Stonewall persistently seen as the starting point of the gay liberation movement? Mark Blasius and Shane Phelan suggest that a "mythology" of the homosexual community has emerged in which Stonewall has taken on a mythical significance in the movement.³ The Stonewall riot is by far the most well-known and emotionally charged event in gay American history, largely because it was so bold, shocking and "in your face." The far less exciting discussion groups of the 1950s or the by then outdated revolutionary works by Xavier Mayne and Donald Webster Cory are left to the wayside

in the wake of a monumental event like Stonewall. Historian Eric Marcus pointed out the problem with the Stonewall myth.

Stonewall...was an explosive and undeniably significant moment in history in which we can all take pride; gay people fought back against police repression. But there were many earlier confrontations, breakthroughs, and defining moments. By investing so much in Stonewall, we have elevated this one event to mythic status, diminishing all that came before and tying all that has happened since to a single point of origin.⁴

The historian's role is to embrace and present history as accurately as possible, regardless of the public's view on the topic. Just because the gay community and portions of the heterosexual community see Stonewall as the birth of the movement, historians need not necessarily settle for that inaccurate conclusion. As important as Stonewall indisputably was, to exaggerate its role in the history of the gay and lesbian liberation movement and to define it alone as the beginning of the movement, is to neglect the rich history of the movement in the sixty or more years prior to 1969. Stonewall must be viewed, at least by historians, for what it actually is: A turning point in the movement when gays and lesbians became more militant, bold, demanding and empowered.

One might wonder why the homophile movement, like Stonewall, is emphasized within the history community to the detriment of the earlier events and people. The emphasis is largely the result of the abundance of documented evidence of the homophile era and the equally abundant lack of material from before 1950. Before the early homophile organizations, very little of what gays were doing and thinking was written down and recorded, mainly due to the underground and secretive nature of the gay lifestyle. What was written is often coded and vague. Special relationships with others of the same sex discussed in letters or diaries hint of being homosexual in nature but such

documents are ambiguous at best. With little surviving evidence relating to homosexuals from the early twentieth century, and even less written by homosexuals themselves, it is difficult to determine when the movement truly began or the level of involvement among members of the gay community at any given time.

Several historians have addressed the problem of evidence in their research. Salvatore Licata correctly identifies the movement's early origins as "sketchy" as a result of the lack of material evidence.⁵ Neil Miller, author of *Out of the Past*, cites the "lack of source material about ordinary gays and lesbians...in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" as a problem for research.⁶ In many ways, it is easier to research and create well-supported conclusions about the homophile organizations than the early organization attempts and other efforts to improve the homosexual condition in the United States. The earlier in the movement's origins one attempts to explore, the more difficult and less clear-cut the research becomes.

The present study serves as a necessary supplement to the histories of the early movement that emphasize the homophile period as the origin of the movement that developed after Stonewall by focusing on the origins of the movement before 1950. When taken along with the many historical works on the homophile movement, Stonewall, and the modern gay liberation movement, it promotes a more balanced understanding of the history of the entire gay liberation movement. To place the homophile movement in its proper position in the history as another stage in a growing movement, the reasons for the emergence of gay liberation movement and the reasons for its timing must be explored. In addition, the earliest roots must be acknowledged for paving the way for the later movement. To use fire as an analogy for the movement, the activities of individuals in the first four decades of the twentieth century were sparks that quickly sputtered out. Around 1950, a spark finally took hold and became a

small but tenacious flame, which grew gradually until the late 1960s when it exploded into a bonfire of organization, activism, and demands after Stonewall. This paper explores those early sparks, why they did not take hold before the 1950, and why they did after that date.

One of the earliest histories of the movement, "The Homosexual Rights Movement in the United States: A Traditionally Overlooked Area of American History," an article by Salvatore J. Licata, presents a useful interpretation of the movement's history, dividing it into stages. In a brief twenty-eight pages, Licata outlines and explores eight stages of the movement from 1908 to 1979. From 1908 through the end of World War II, the first stage was characterized by "sporadic individual attempts to defend the rights of homosexual men and women."⁷ During the second stage, spanning from 1945 to 1950, a "minority consciousness" developed as homosexuals became increasingly more aware of their identity as "distinct minority."⁸ The next stage, from 1950-1952, was a "period of increased discussion" of homosexuality in both the public sphere and privately among gay men and women.⁹ This stage marks the beginning of the homophile movement and the formation of the first homophile group, the Mattachine Society. From 1952-1953, the fourth stage was a time of "righteous indignation," when the discussion groups, like the Mattachine Society, became angry over the numerous violations of their rights. This move toward protest and political involvement is truncated by a retreat to caution in stage five, from 1953-1960, largely brought about by a change of leadership in the Mattachine and the creation of the new Daughters of Bilitis that emphasized information and education as their primary goals. In the last stage relevant to this discussion, the stage that ends with the Stonewall riots in 1969, a civil rights activism, much like the activism in the contemporary African-American civil rights movement, emerged and grew. The stages often overlap slightly, as history is necessarily a continuum,

and often “organizations and individuals from an earlier stage continued to operate in the next stage” without changing their methods or policies.¹⁰ Licata’s technique of separating the movement into stages conveys the importance of each stage as it points out the major changes in the goals, philosophy, success, and activities of the movement. It is far superior to the most common division of the homosexual liberation movement of “before Stonewall” and “after Stonewall” (some writers acknowledge a third phase marked by the discovery of AIDS), which places undue emphasis on Stonewall and the contemporary movement and doesn’t account for all the changes in the movement over time.

Though Licata’s work seems to imply that the isolated attempts of the first stage arose spontaneously from nowhere, in actuality, homosexuals in late nineteenth century American cities were surprisingly well networked. At least as early as the 1880s, America’s larger cities housed extensive homosexual underground communities.¹¹ In 1889, one doctor wrote in a report for a medical readership, “There is in every community of any size a colony of male sex perverts; they are usually known to each other, and are likely to congregate together.”¹² The next year, another physician wrote, “As late as the eighties and early nineties I can testify that perverts of both sexes maintained a sort of social set-up in New York City, had their places of meeting...” such as “The Slide,” and Walhalla Hall.¹³ According to historian Neil Miller, a report called *Vices of a Big City*, published in 1890 called The Slide “the lowest and most disgusting place...filled nightly with from one hundred to three hundred people, most of whom are males, but unworthy of the name of men. They are effeminate, degraded, and addicted to vices which are inhuman and unnatural.”¹⁴ Historian George Chauncey discovered evidence of a bathhouse in New York City that by 1902 “had begun to cultivate a homosexual clientele” and in 1903 had established enough of a reputation that it was raided by police.¹⁵ In 1908, one book “identified social clubs and baths, cafés and restaurants, bars

and music halls” in at least nine major American cities that were known as gay establishments.¹⁶ By all accounts, there was an abundance of established communities and meeting places in major American cities by the 1910s.

The first step towards a gay liberation movement was this creation of underground homosexual communities. These social networks allowed gay men and women to share the burden of society’s hostility with one another and gave them a place to be themselves, thereby fostering a sense of pride and self-acceptance in many individuals. Communities also provided a means for spreading information and allowed for homosexuals to discuss both their sexuality and their plight amongst themselves. This sort of communication and togetherness is a necessary precursor to any social movement.

In 1908, the thick book entitled *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexuality as a Problem in Social Life*, by the homosexual American writer Edward Prime Stevenson, was published in Italy under the pseudonym Xavier Mayne. The book is believed to be the first defense of homosexuality published by an American author. It was also an expository work, providing a glimpse of the lives and experiences of homosexuals in the United States. In many ways, Stevenson was far ahead of his time. He boldly rejected the nearly universally held notion that homosexuality was an illness and could therefore be cured, insisting that it was, in fact, entirely natural. He proposed the question, almost mockingly, “Can we ‘cure’ Nature?”¹⁷ To medical professionals, Stevenson said that the best help one can give the average homosexual is to offer understanding, sympathy and to promote self-respect.

Though only a handful of histories mention this book or author, some gay liberation movement historians have accorded it great importance. In Salvatore Licata’s interpretation of the movement’s history, the “pioneering” book was “the first individual attempt... to defend the rights of homosexual people” and serves as the

beginning of the first stage of the movement.¹⁸ Though *The Intersexes* was not published or distributed as widely as the later Donald Webster Cory book, *The Homosexual in America*, this early book presumably reached the hands at least some homosexual men and women, showing them that they were not alone. It may have altered the views of some heterosexual readers as well.

A half-century before the American movement was in full swing, the German Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, the world's first formal organization for homosexuals, formed by physician Magnus Hirschfeld, was thriving. Formed in 1897, the group sought to "abolish the German law against male homosexuality, to change the public's generally negative opinion of homosexuals, and to interest homosexuals themselves in the struggle for their rights," using a scientific approach.¹⁹ Like the United States organizations, the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, the formation of the committee was a result of Germany's own history of individuals speaking out in support of homosexuality and against anti-homosexual laws.²⁰ Part of their efforts included giving lectures and hosting public debates in the U.S. in the first decade of the twentieth century. Such events helped promote positive notions of homosexuality as well as to create some awareness of successful homosexual organizations and a budding movement in Germany. One anonymous American wrote to the committee newsletter in 1907, revealing such an increase in awareness. "I'm always delighted to hear about even the smallest success you have in vanquishing deep-rooted prejudices. And here in the United States we really need this kind of activity."²¹

Perhaps the most well known American influenced by the German movement was Henry Gerber. While stationed in Germany after the First World War from 1920 to 1923, Gerber regularly read the magazines and newsletters of German homophile organizations and was exposed to the movement in Berlin. Comparing the "partially organized" German homosexual

community and the nation's uniform legislation against homosexuals with the chaotic and confusing American laws and lack of cohesion of the homosexual community, Gerber felt discouraged that a society of homosexuals would be successful in the United States.²² Regardless, he resolved to form the Society for Human Rights in Chicago in 1924, the first known American gay rights organization, fashioned after similar organizations he had seen in Germany.

From the beginning he discovered the challenges he faced as he set out to find potential members and co-founders.

The first difficulty was in rounding up enough members... The average homosexual, I found, was ignorant concerning himself. Others were fearful. Still others were frantic or depraved. Some were blasé. Many homosexuals told me that their search for forbidden fruit was the real spice of life. We wondered how we could accomplish anything with such resistance from our own people.²³

The founding members were just beginning to outline and work toward their goals—goals that were quite similar to those of later organizations—and had produced only two issues of *Friendship and Freedom*, the group's newsletter, when Gerber and several others were arrested on a number of largely false charges.²⁴ Though not convicted, Gerber did lose his job but not his hopes for uniting and improving the lives of American homosexuals.

Gerber's organization failed largely because it was formed before society was ready to accept it. Sociologist Edward Sagarin argued in the 1960s that the organization "was prematurely formed, in a social climate that was not prepared to protect it or even tolerate it."²⁵ Perhaps even the social climate in the gay community was not ready for a homosexual organization. When Henry Gerber's livelihood and his organization were on the brink of disaster in 1925, "Chicago's sizable homosexual community... [offered] him no support."²⁶

Henry Gerber continued to write about homosexuality in a number of periodicals in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In the 1940s, Henry Gerber encouraged a pen pal's idea to form a new organization and offered his support, but wanted only anonymous involvement.²⁷ Nothing came of that correspondence. He continued to be involved in the effort of improving the plight of the homosexual throughout his later life. Gerber, his organization, and *Friendship and Freedom* are almost never discussed in any detail in gay movement histories, even though he "sowed the seed of gay pride and the idea of fighting for gay rights in scores of correspondents, directly and indirectly influencing Harry Hay, Jim Kepner, Tony Segura...Manuel Boyfrank, and others who worked to establish the homophile movement of the 1950s."²⁸

At least one other man hoped to bring the German movement to the United States. Ernst Klopffleisch, who immigrated to America and took the name Ernest F. Elmhurst in 1923, developed a plan for an organization in 1930 that never came to fruition.²⁹ In a letter to Magnus Hirschfeld, the founder of the world's first known homosexual organization, the German Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, Elmhurst expressed that the conditions in the U.S. were prime for such an organization and asked for assistance in forming one.³⁰ He insisted that the prevalence of homo- and bisexuality—a full sixty percent of all men, he claimed—and the social networking among these individuals in cities would make forming and expanding an organization fairly easy. He admitted that "such an organization would be a thorn in the side of certain government agencies," but added optimistically that the "authorities simply will have to change their positions on inverts and bisexuals a little. I do not doubt the success of such an organization."³¹

Hirschfeld forwarded this letter to Dr. Harry Benjamin, an American member of the World League for Sexual Reform. Dr. Benjamin saw the social situation more realistically and felt such

an organization was “impossible.” He wrote in response to Hirschfeld,

Ernst [sic] Elmhurst...has visited with me a few times and explained his plans in great detail. However, I believe them to be practically unrealizable in New York...I have advised Elmhurst to try starting very small, with a modest group of likeminded people. However, I am of the opinion that his slightly ambitious program cannot be realized in a way that even approximates his intentions.³²

Dr. Benjamin recognized that the social conditions of the 1930s were not conducive to a homosexual organization. Had Elmhurst succeeded in forming an organization, it likely would have met the same fate of the earlier Society for Human Rights.

The influence that the German movement had on some American gay people, like Henry Gerber and Ernest Elmhurst, cannot be denied. Historian George Chauncey contends, “It is likely that thousands of American gay men were similarly affected by their encounter with a culture in which homosexuals experienced a greater degree of tolerance and had begun to speak and organize on their own behalf.”³³ Regardless of their failures, such early attempts to organize are important in the history of the gay rights movement. They show that gay people wanted to organize and that there were pressing reasons to organize, namely to respond to society’s negative treatment of homosexuals.

In 1947, a woman who later adopted the pseudonym “Lisa Ben,” an anagram of lesbian, created the second known homosexual—and the first lesbian—periodical in America, entitled *Vice Versa*. With no knowledge of Gerber’s 1925 newsletter, the young secretary working as a typist in a Los Angeles office decided to use her spare time at work creating a magazine, hoping it would be, in her words, “a way of reaching out to other gay gals—a way of getting to know other girls.”³⁴ Though she knew of several gay bars, she never felt comfortable at them, largely because of the constant

threat of police raids and arrest.³⁵ Ben typed each nine to twenty page issue through twice with five sheets of carbon paper, making a meager twelve copies of each of the nine issues. "I would say to the girls as I passed the magazine out, 'When you get through with this, don't throw it away, pass it on to another gay gal'...In that way, *Vice Versa* would pass from friend to friend."³⁶

Vice Versa was not just a magazine created by a single woman to meet other "gay gals." The magazine also partially performed the same functions as the discussion groups of the 1950s, as it served as "a venue for public discussion of topics that the mainstream media refused to cover."³⁷ By opening up the magazine to reader submissions, she encouraged open discussion on topics that were largely taboo and allowed lesbians an outlet to express their sexuality. Also like the later discussion groups, namely the Daughters of Bilitis, Lisa Ben's magazine became a resource for education and information. Very little information about homosexuality was available in 1940s America to anyone outside of the medical profession. In addition to conveying positive information on homosexuality in its articles, the magazine also provided reviews and lists of lesbian and gay themed books, movies and plays.³⁸

The presence and success of such a magazine in 1940s is remarkable. At a time when homosexuality was only spoken or written about in very negative terms, Lisa Ben promoted a positive view of homosexuality to the gay community. "In those days, every once in a while there would be an article in the newspapers like, 'Party of Perverts Broken Up at Such and Such'...they didn't say gay people, they would say perverts or some unpleasant name."³⁹ Ben presented an alternative and positive view homosexuals and homosexuality in *Vice Versa* and, in so doing, encouraged a sense of pride in being gay. Furthermore, neither Ben nor her publication "apologize or communicate a sense of guilt or shame."⁴⁰ In this way, Lisa Ben and her magazine can even be con-

sidered to be more progressive than members and newsletters of the later Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis.

Lisa Ben and *Vice Versa* serve as a bridge between first few stages of the gay liberation movement in historian Salvatore Licata's interpretation. Lisa Ben's project was undoubtedly an individual attempt to improve the homosexual condition, like the attempt by Henry Gerber to establish a homosexual organization, but her work was a direct predecessor of the later lesbian organization, Daughters of Bilitis.

Like the other individuals addressed earlier, Lisa Ben and *Vice Versa* are often included only as a side note—if at all—in gay American history books and articles. An article tracing the history and impact of *The Ladder*, the second known lesbian American journal published by the homophile organization, the Daughters of Bilitis, mentions *Vice Versa* so briefly that one could easily miss it. "Although *The Ladder* was actually the second lesbian publication in America...it was the most widely read publication of its kind," wrote historian Manuela Soares.⁴¹ The nation's first publication, which is not even mentioned by name, seems unimportant to the article's author, perhaps because of its relatively small readership. Historian John D'Emilio included two succinct sentences on Lisa Ben and *Vice Versa* in his 250-page history of homosexuality in the United States from 1940 to 1970.⁴² Barry Adam's *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement* and Neil Miller's *Out of the Past*, both prominent histories of American homosexuality, fail entirely to mention Lisa Ben's contributions. To be charitable to Soares, her short article is focused on *The Ladder* and not *Vice Versa*, so it may make sense that the latter is mentioned only in brief—though that certainly does not excuse failing to mention its name. An in-depth discussion of *Vice Versa* is quite relevant to D'Emilio's work and could have easily been included. Besides a short, obscure paper by Rodger Streitmatter, virtually no literature exists devoted to the topic of Lisa Ben or her fledgling journal, revealing one of the many

gaping holes in the history of homosexuality in America that remains unfilled. There is something quite remarkable about being the first woman to create a magazine for lesbians at a time of great hostility to anything homosexual.

A few years after Lisa Ben's endeavor, in 1951, a man by the name of Edward Sagarin earned a place in gay history when, under the pseudonym of Donald Webster Cory, he wrote *The Homosexual in America: a Subjective Approach*. According to the book's jacket, it "is the story of homosexuality, as seen, felt, experienced, and told by a homosexual."⁴³ It was the first book about the homosexual—his lifestyle, experiences, fears, challenges, and hopes—published for the public and not the medical community. It was also the first of its kind to be published by a self-declared homosexual. Historians Mark Blasius and Shane Phelan wrote of the book's creation, "while tame by today's standards, in 1951 this was a radical step; as the first full-length discussion of homosexual politics in the United States, its very publication was an act of heroism."⁴⁴ Cory and his first book influenced many gays and lesbians of his generation, including the well-known activist Barbara Gittings, who interpreted the book to mean "that we ought to be working to gain our equality and our civil rights."⁴⁵ D'Emilio claimed that in writing *The Homosexual in America*, Cory "provided gay men and women a tool for reinterpreting their lives."⁴⁶ It gave homosexuals a new, far more positive view of themselves. The book was so popular that it was reprinted over a half dozen times in less than ten years. Cory's book serves as a bridge between the early efforts and the successful organization during the homophile era of the 1950s. Shortly after the book's publication, the Mattachine Society became a thriving organization.

Why did the early attempts to organize, mobilize and improve the situation for homosexuals, those prior to around 1950, fail? Enormous obstacles stood in the way of these early efforts. In 1966, Edward Sagarin, mentioned above as a contributor to the

movement's origins himself, proposed five social conditions that prevented organization prior to the homophile movement, despite the obvious need. These challenges were American society's hostility toward "social change, or even to discussion of social change, in the area of sex"; the state of homosexual "anonymity," that is the ease of disguising ones sexuality and the risk of being exposed if involved in an organization; the inability to communicate with one another as a result of this anonymity and isolation; a lack of potential heterosexual leadership, since the most successful leaders of a social movement for a minority are "tolerant members of the majority;" and the internalization of society's negative views of hostility and hatred.⁴⁷

Sagarin addressed the problem of lack of discussion in his previous work, *The Homosexual in America*. During first half of the twentieth century, Americans simply did not publicly discuss any type of sexuality, even between a married man and woman. Homosexuality was certainly not something one talked about in any situation outside of the medical arena. The first step toward a better understanding of and improved social conditions for homosexuals, Sagarin argued, is to open up public discussion on the topic.⁴⁸

With the release of the Kinsey reports in 1948 and 1953, entitled *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, people began to talk more openly about sexuality. The Kinsey reports were the published results of Alfred Kinsey's study of human sexual behavior that showed many sexual behaviors, including same-sex encounters, to be far more common than people believed. The results of Kinsey's research shocked Americans, and intrigued them, as evidenced by the fact that both reports spent "several months high on the *New York Times* best-seller list."⁴⁹ It seemed that everyone in America knew of and was talking about Kinsey's data, which revealed astonishing facts about nearly every imaginable sexuality and sexual activity, from bestial-

ity to masturbation to sex outside of marriage. Homosexuality, Kinsey revealed, was far more prevalent than the medical community or the public had previously thought.⁵⁰ D'Emilio emphasizes the importance of the Kinsey reports in *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*: "The two books permanently altered the nature of public discussion of sexuality as well as society's perception of its own behavior."⁵¹ Kinsey's impact goes beyond just opening the topic of sexuality for discussion. "By revealing the wide divergence between ideals and actual behavior," D'Emilio argues, "[Kinsey] informed ordinary men and women that their private 'transgressions' marked them as neither deviant nor exceptional."⁵² For homosexuals, the knowledge that they were not alone and not deviants came as a great relief and as an affirmation of their identity. The Kinsey reports also triggered a change in society's views of homosexuals, causing Americans to question long-held beliefs. It was largely because of Alfred Kinsey that the first successful homosexual organizations formed in the early 1950s.

The risk of being exposed is a significant reason for the homosexual community's unwillingness to become involved in any organization or liberation efforts prior to the late forties. Each of the 48 states in existence in 1951 had laws explicitly or implicitly forbidding homosexuality or homosexual acts, namely sodomy, "crimes against nature," "sex perversions," and "unnatural intercourse," according to a listing in Cory's *Homosexual in America*.⁵³ Penalties for an individual convicted of such crimes ranged from heavy fines to a few years imprisonment (most common), to life in prison, all for a consensual act among two adults. With the threat of these laws and their accompanying punishments, it is remarkable that anyone would stand up and speak out for homosexual rights or equality. Historian John D'Emilio comes to the same conclusion: "Police harassment made life dangerous for gay men and women, and the ostracism and punishment that almost surely followed exposure of one's sexual identity imposed a heavy

burden of secrecy upon them.”⁵⁴

Many homosexuals were afraid to do anything that might expose their identity as a homosexual to the public or the authorities. Speaking specifically of membership in homosexual organizations, D’Emilio insisted that “involvement...threatened to remove their cover and subject them to penalties in return for the uncertain promise of a better future, at best.”⁵⁵

A number of recent scholars have refuted Sagarin’s third proposed reason. John D’Emilio was the first to argue against the isolation and subsequent lack of communication between homosexuals. In *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, he cites the ease and speed with which “gay liberationists” were able to “mobilize their allegedly hidden, isolated constituency” as evidence of an underground homosexual community that existed by the 1940s. In his assessment, it was the homophile movement that formed the group identity and homosexual community necessary to respond effectively to the Stonewall incident. George Chauncey built on D’Emilio’s argument in *Gay New York*, providing evidence of a thriving gay male subculture in at least one city as early as the 1890s. Several other historians have further proven false the notion of isolation, including Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis in their book, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community*, and Brett Beemyn in his anthology of historical writing on the topic, entitled *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*.⁵⁷

The notion of community and lack of isolation should not be taken too far. Despite what the works of the historians just listed suggest, a substantial population of individuals were in fact isolated from other homosexuals at least during youth. Lisa Ben spoke of isolation in her early years before she moved to the city: “I knew how I felt, but I didn’t know how to go about finding someone else who was like me, and there was just no way to find out in those days.”⁵⁸ Even in the late fifties, there were isolated homosexuals

across the United States. When the Daughters of Bilitis published and sent out copies of *The Ladder*, some would reach these isolated individuals. In an interview, Billie Tallmij recollected receiving letters from such people, saying, “We had people in Podunk, Iowa, writing letters that would break your heart. ‘Here I am. I am the only one in the world...Where do I find people? Who can I talk to? What books can I read?’ Every one of them felt like she was the only voice crying out in the wilderness.”⁵⁹

For many isolated individuals, their only exposure to homosexuality came in the form of the occasional book or magazine on the topic. Chuck Rowland, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society, had the help of the magazine *Sexology* in discovering his sexuality. The magazine had:

a whole special section on homosexuality. It explained that if one was homosexual, he shouldn’t feel strange or odd, that there were millions of us, that there was nothing wrong with it...I’ve talked to others who got their lives straightened out by reading the articles that appeared in this publication.⁶⁰

Rowland was one of the luckier gay men and women growing up in the early twentieth century. Most homosexuals gained their information about homosexuality from literature that presented the issue in a far more negative light. Jim Kepner, a volunteer at the homophile magazine, *ONE*, said that in his youth he was able to find “a lot of literature about gays, but most of it was terribly depressing.”⁶¹ Literature about homosexuality was riddled with terms like “sex perverts,” “inverts,” “psychopaths” and “deviates.”⁶² Though there were many isolated homosexual individuals, especially those living outside of the big cities, there were also many who belonged to or were at least familiar with the underground homosexual communities present in most major cities. The spread of the Kinsey reports into households across America marked the end of the feeling of isolation for many homosexuals,

even those in geographic isolation of known homosexuals as it confirmed that there were others out there.

In his earlier work, Sagarin expounds on the lack of heterosexual leadership: "It has become a sign of worthiness to take up the cudgels for almost any minority group, except the homosexuals. One is a 'hero' if he espouses the cause of minorities, but is only a suspect if that minority is the homosexual."⁶³ By taking up the banner of a homosexual movement, a straight man or woman would instantly be labeled a homosexual, regardless of their actual sexual preference. Sagarin cites the success of other movements after obtaining leadership from individuals of the majority as evidence for a need of a leader from the majority group. His conclusion that in order to create a successful movement, homosexuals needed a leader from outside their community is questionable. The success of the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of the Bilitis show that leadership could come from the minority to lead the movement. All of the founding members of both organizations were homosexual. Given the social climate of the pre-World War II era, it is unlikely that any individual, homosexual or heterosexual, could have successfully initiated a cohesive, effective and lasting movement.

The last reason Sagarin gives for the lack of organization before World War II is for the most part true. John D'Emilio agreed with Sagarin's assertion. A number of times in *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, he mentioned that homosexuals internalized the negative views of the majority.⁶⁴ Paul Phillips, who was discovering his sexuality around the year 1919 certainly did, and he kept a negative self-image as a homosexual throughout his life. "When I first discovered that things were not right, sexually, I wanted to kill myself," he said. "I was never proud of what I did as a gay person."⁶⁵ Chuck Rowland said in a 1990 interview that some gays did in fact internalize society's negative views, though he himself did not: "Unlike so many people I know who had guilt feelings about

being gay, I never had any fuckin' guilt feelings."⁶⁶ Many other gay individuals before the mid-1940s demonstrated a positive self-image of their sexuality through their actions. Henry Gerber, for example, shows no hint of a negative self-image in all of his writings and his desire to organize homosexuals indicates a belief that the plight of homosexuals was a problem with society and not with being gay.

Though Sagarin's proposed reasons are somewhat flawed, they still present a valuable starting point for assessing the social conditions that prevented organization and mobilization prior to World War II.

Though the homophile organizations of the 1950s are a very important part of the history of the gay movement, it is essential to recognize that these organizations alone did not start the gay liberation movement any more than Stonewall did. Major social movements like the gay liberation movement do not begin at a specific time or as a result of a single event. Rather they evolve gradually over time. While it may be possible to argue that the gay movement started even earlier than 1900s, there is no doubt that the origins of the movement can be found throughout the first half of the twentieth century. From the underground communities of the turn of the century, to Stevenson's *Intersexes*, to Gerber's Society for Human Rights, to *Vice Versa* in the 1940s, the origins of the gay liberation movement can be found in the scattered attempts by individuals to improve the lives, rights and status of homosexuals. Sociologist Edward Sagarin wrote, "A social movement has predecessors. It may in a sense be the first of its kind, but it arises in a given climate and out of the needs, possibilities, and opportunities of the times. In addition, it takes on a specific shape and form because other movements and organizations have come before it which, in some respects, were similar. It is part of a continuity; it must have a history."⁶⁷

Appendix

Kinsey Report Results on Homosexuality

- 37 percent of the total male population has had *at least some overt homosexual experience* to the point of orgasm.
- 50 percent of males who remained single until age thirty-five have had homosexual experience to the point of orgasm.
- 8 percent of males were *exclusively homosexual* for at least three years between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five.
- 4 percent of males were *exclusively homosexual throughout their lives*.
- 28 percent of females reported erotic responses to other females.
- 13 percent of females have achieved orgasm in homosexual relations, while 20 percent have had some homosexual experience.
- 28 percent of women who reported homosexual activity had an experience that extended for over three years.
- Between 2 and 6 percent of unmarried females had been more or less *exclusively homosexual* in each of the years between twenty and thirty-five years of age.

Source: Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History From 1869 to Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 250-251.

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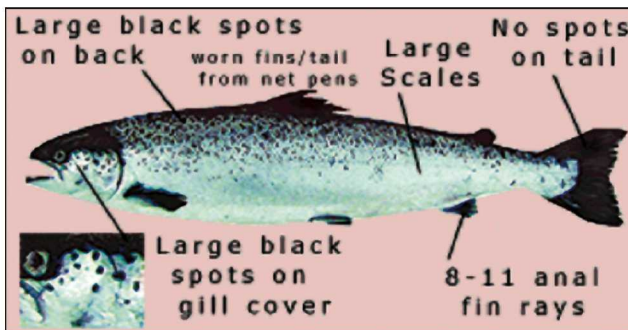


Atlantic Salmon: Invasion Threatens the Pacific An Analysis and Recommendation

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English 214: Persuasive Writing
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*The economic/environmental power struggle continues in the waters
of the Pacific Northwest as farmed and wild salmon
compete in the world market.*



With so many options on the market today, it is more important than ever to be informed and conscious about where your food is coming from. It is easy to be lazy when making decisions in personal nutrition as well as in government, but rarely do uninformed choices make for the most healthy lifestyle or nation. As the product of a southeast Alaskan fishing town, I am keenly aware of

the impacts farmed salmon have on our wild fish. As an employee of a fishing lodge, I am shocked at the misinformation regarding the fish farming industry evinced by our guests. As an Alaskan student and citizen, I am determined to promote both awareness of the salmon situation at hand and advocacy for positive change by the hands of the people.

Since the 1960s, when salmon farming began in Norway, aquaculture has developed as a major source of seafood for consumers around the world. When it began, fish farming was viewed as a way to relieve stress on diminishing wild fish populations while providing a consistent, low cost product. People swam away with the idea— middle and lower class families could afford to eat the recommended amount of fish weekly, restaurants could offer “fresh” fish year round, and wild fish stocks would not have to be harvested in vast quantities. The new industry seemed almost too good to be true.

Large companies began buying out small farms and the industry spread to Canada and Chile, among other countries. As the industry grew, so did an awareness of the unintended consequences associated with the process. Disease spread from farmed fish to native species and noticeable downturns in environmental quality brought attention to the serious negative implications of aquaculture. With first hand experience as a most fierce weapon, fishermen and environmentalists were united in local communities as fish-farm-fighting bodies. Today, the deep controversy over the practice of farming salmon stands as a major conflict of interest between primarily economically and primarily environmentally minded folk.

Aquaculture is a broad term used to define the practice of raising shellfish and finfish. Shellfish aquaculture is generally accepted as a great deal more environmentally sound than finfish farming; likewise, inland fish farms and shellfish aquaculture are less disputed and environmentally harmful than coastal salmon

farming.

All salmon may appear the same to the casual observer, but the differences among wild species of salmon and farmed is drastic. For the purposes of this paper, salmon will be referred to as Pacific (wild) or Atlantic (farmed). Pacific salmon include the native species of Alaska and Canada: chinook, coho, chum, sockeye, and pink. 76% of Canadian farmed salmon are Atlantic (Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Fisheries, 2003, salmon aquaculture statistics), preferred by farmers because they have been genetically modified over the years to grow quickly and uniformly. Since there are no naturally occurring Atlantic salmon in the Pacific Ocean, the presence of farmed Atlantics in Canadian and Alaskan waters pose a serious threat to Pacific salmon and their habitat.

Canada is the fourth largest producer of farmed salmon worldwide (Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Fisheries, 2003, aquaculture statistics). A typical salmon farm consists of eight or ten net pens, each holding 15,000 to 50,000 fish (Barcott, 2001, p. 6). These net pens occupy sheltered saltwater habitats shared with wild salmon and a plethora of other indigenous species. Although Alaska banned salmon farming from the start, our neighbors in British Columbia have developed an extensive network of farms that impact the waters and markets) of our state.

Contrary to predicted results, fish farms seriously compromise the quality of natural habitats surrounding them. Pollution and disease from fish farms flush through open net pens; the net pens also are susceptible to damage by storms and marine predators, providing easy escape routes for thousands of invasive carnivores.

Escaped farmed salmon threaten wild stocks by consuming nutrient resources, spreading disease, and spawning in wild habitats, effectively weakening the genetic integrity of wild species. Nearly 400,000 Atlantic salmon are reported to have escaped from British Columbia farms in the past ten years; environmentalists estimate that actual figure to be closer to one million (Barcott,

2001, p. 2). According to the Canadian Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), Atlantic salmon have been found in over 80 surveyed rivers and streams along the Canadian west coast (the same water as Alaska's east coast) (CAAR, 2004). In Norway, a comparable 1.3 million escaped farmed salmon constitute one third of fish returning to spawn in coastal rivers (EMS, 2003, Farmed Salmon). These invasive salmon disrupt a delicate food chain by competing with wild species for food.

While escaped salmon dilute vital survival traits in Pacific salmon and consume their prey, Atlantics also put the native population at risk by spreading disease and parasites cultivated in the close proximity of pens. Densely populated net pens provide prime opportunity for parasites and diseases to spread, not only among fish contained in them but on wild stocks as well. Sea lice infestations have been found to be lethal to farmed fish, and more seriously, to wild fish. While sea lice are found naturally in small numbers on wild fish, infestations engendered in crowded pens are most often fatal. Recently, populations of juvenile pink and chum salmon have been nearly extinguished when sea lice eat their mucus, skin, and blood (Barcott, 2001, p. 5). Outbreaks of devastating diseases are common; to treat them, farmers use antibiotics or other drugs, which filter into the ocean and onto dinner plates.

Raw waste - feces, excess feed, and fish carcasses - is the pollutant of primary concern apart from diseases and drugs. A fish farm of 200,000 salmon releases an amount of fecal solids comparable (roughly equivalent) to that of 62,000 people (Barcott, 2001, p. 6). Expressed in different terms, 32,000 tons of farmed salmon generate waste equivalent to a city of about 500,000 (EMS, 2003, Wild v. Farmed). This waste falls directly into the surrounding ecosystem, polluting the water and depleting the oxygen supply on the ocean floor.

Apart from the direct effect farmed salmon have on local species, the amount of energy required to make them grow is much greater than the net protein yield, upsetting the natural cycle of nutrient distribution in the oceans. According to a study by the David Suzuki Foundation, "a total of 2.7 to 3.5 tonnes of wild fish are used to make 1 tonne of farmed

salmon.” In short, the argument that fish farming relieves pressure on our oceans is grossly inaccurate.

The worldwide demand for salmon has increased exponentially in recent years. Likewise, worldwide fish farm production has jumped from 12.5 million tons in 1989 to 30.9 million tons in 1998 (Barcott, 2001, p. 8). Theoretically, fish farming could supplement the growing demand and protect wild salmon; but, because it is a relatively new industry, salmon farming has not yet developed to where it is both environmentally and economically sound. The numerous technologies and alternative practices that would mitigate environmental problems created by fish farming are ineffective in that they cost money and most operators are unwilling to spend what could be saved as the government looks the other way.

The farmers’ aim is to glean a maximum profit, a goal encouraged by the government at the expense of the health of native species and habitat. In their report, *The Effect of Salmon Farming in British Columbia on the Management of Wild Salmon Stocks*, the Auditor General of Canada states that “the Department [of Fisheries and Oceans] is not fully meeting its legislative obligations under the *Fisheries Act* to protect wild Pacific salmon from the effects of salmon farming” (Cummins, 2003, p. 5). This Canadian legislation is in place to encourage a healthy coexistence between wild and farmed fishing industries. The next necessary step to be taken is making sure these laws are enforced and upheld by those charged with doing so.

Reports released by committees such as the 1997 Salmon Aquaculture Review, the 2001 Marine Aquaculture Review, and the 2002 Pacific Fisheries Resource Conservation Council as well as independent reports like the *Clear Choices, Clean Waters* inquiry into salmon farming in B.C. are uniform in their recommendations calling for increased enforcement of established laws. Existing Canadian statutes theoretically regulate all aspects of the fish farming industry, yet substantial problems continue to plague the envi-

ronment and wild species. Even with the U.S. Clean Water Act and a definitive ban on salmon farming in Alaska, we still suffer the effects of Canadian inadequacies.

Canada's Fisheries Act makes it clear that "No person shall carry on any work or undertaking that results in the harmful alteration, disruption or destruction of fish habitat" (Fisheries Act, section 35). Current salmon farming practices in Canada blatantly violate the law on those counts. In the words of the honorable Stuart Leggatt, former judge of the British Columbia Supreme Court, "The salmon farming industry has been allowed to develop until it has become clearly out of balance with British Columbia's natural environment" (Leggatt, 2001). The dual role of the DFO to protect wild salmon and promote farming creates a conflict of interest most non-conducive to either end. It is time for the public to demand accountability from inactive authorities. It is time for those officials to realize the ramifications of their inaction and enforce laws designed to protect the natural bounty of our seas.

Current fish farming practices harm wild fish. By exposing our natural resources to known sources of injury, we put our entire supply of fish as food at risk of collapse. It is therefore vital that intensive modification of practice takes place. The responsibility for ensuring this critical change lies in the hands of those who enforce laws and, more importantly, in all of us with the power of democratic liberty to choose both our leaders and our foods. By holding farmers accountable and providing market incentives for eco-friendly farming techniques, it is possible farmed salmon could become a healthy option for consumers worldwide. Until those changes are made, however, it is ecologically irresponsible to produce farmed salmon, and to encourage production by consuming them.

Annotated Bibliography

Alaska Department of Fish and Game. (2004). *Atlantic salmon are an invasive threat*. Retrieved Nov. 01, 2004 from http://www.adfg.state.ak.us/special/as/as_home.php.

Up to date information on the Atlantic Salmon invasive species, including maps, diagrams, answers to frequently asked questions, and many links to websites related in different ways to the aquaculture debate. This is a very useful starting place for anyone interested in this topic. You can also navigate back to the main ADF&G page to learn about other areas of interest concerned with Alaskan wildlife.

Barcott, Bruce. (2001, November/December). "Aquaculture's troubled harvest." *Mother Jones*. Retrieved Nov. 08, 2004 from <http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2001/11/aquaculture.html>

In this nine-page article, Barcott discusses the problems with fish farming using statistical information and interviews with people directly involved with the industry. The article gives a brief history of salmon farming and then goes on to deal with pollution, wild salmon health, and economic concerns. Although it was published three years ago, the information in the article is useful for saying how fish farming impacts everything in the words of informed (ethos-endowed?) individuals.

British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office. (1997). *The Salmon Aquaculture Review Final Report*. Retrieved Nov. 11, 2004 from http://www.intrafish.com/laws-and-regulations/report_bc/
The Salmon Aquaculture Review is an enormous document that covers every aspect of fish farming in the environmental, economic, political, social, and health-related spheres. The specific section cited is a rundown of "the existing salmon aquaculture management system in British Columbia," including licensing information, waste management procedures, and an environmental impact assessment. The report in its entirety provides the most information on this topic of any I have come across.

CAAR: Coastal Alliance for Aquaculture Reform. (2004). *Farmed and Dangerous*. Retrieved Nov. 08, 2004 from http://www.farmedand-dangerous.org/farm_issues.htm and http://www.farmedanddangerous.org/farm_history.htm and http://www.farmedanddangerous.org/farm_environment.htm

This site provides a breakdown of the salmon farming issue. It is categorized into specific topics (such as environmental impacts, etc.) that are easily navigable throughout the site. It also gives links to other reports and definitions regarding the broad topic. It is a good general overview with convincing statistics.

Cummins, John. (2003, April 08). Canadian Standing Committee on Fisheries and Oceans, *Aquaculture Minority Report*. Retrieved Nov. 11, 2004 from http://www.watershed-watch.org/PDFs/CumminsMinorityReport-Aquaculture-Apr8_03.pdf.

This report outlines the above listed committee's opinion on salmon aquaculture in Canada. It primarily addresses the legal matters intertwined with aquaculture, examining the constitution and individual regulations, particularly those related to the environment. The committee critically evaluates the lack of government cooperation enforcing laws against harmful farming practices. The report includes many statements from the ongoing dialogue (debate) between supporters and opponents of salmon farming in the Pacific.

David Suzuki Foundation. (2003). *Oceans and Fishing*. Retrieved Nov. 08, 2004 from <http://www.davidsuzuki.org/oceans/aquaculture/salmon> and <http://www.davidsuzuki.org/oceans/fishing>

The two sites listed summarize the concerns associated with fish farming in terms of environment and sustainability. The continued efforts of the organization to obtain and present critical information is further demonstrated through the site's factor-specific pages (drugs, sewage, escapes, net loss), accessible through the main salmon aquaculture page. The site also links to other informational sites and reports. It is presented well and provides solid information for anyone interested at any level.

Department of Justice Canada. (2004). *Fisheries act R.S., c. F-14, S. 1*. Retrieved Nov. 23, 2004 from <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en>.

The Fisheries Act entails all ends of the Canadian fisheries, including commercial and farming. Section 34 defines the terms used in the proceeding sections, such as "deleterious substance" and "fish habitat." Section 35 is the specific regulation against harming fish habitats. The document as a whole is useful for discerning precisely what the law says concerning the fisheries.

EMS: Environmental Media Services. (2003). *Salmon Farming*.

Retrieved Nov. 08, 2004 from http://www.ems.org/salmon/salmon_farming.html

This page outlines some of the basic problems and causes of fish farming. It is clearly organized into “the problem,” “the causes,” and “the context” sections. The page concisely articulates the central points against salmon farming. It is up to date and would do a reasonable job of giving a media person the basic background information and arguments necessary for building an effective piece.

Goldburn, R., M. Elliot & Rosamond L. Naylor. *Marine Aquaculture in the United States: Environmental impacts and policy options*.

Retrieved Nov. 23, 2004 from <http://siis.stanford.edu/publications/12217>

This page is a summary of the aquaculture report, which details the environmental problems, and possible solutions of salmon farming in the United States. Linked to the site is the full text of the Pew Oceans Commission aquaculture report as well as other related publications and a research project by Stanford students.

Leggatt, Stuart M. (2001). *Clear Choices, Clean Waters: The Leggatt Inquiry into Salmon Aquaculture in British Columbia, Report and Recommendations*. Retrieved Nov. 11, 2004 from http://www.david.suzuki.org/files/leggatt_reportfinal.pdf

Clear Choices, Clean Waters is a report on the findings of an in-depth private inquiry into fish farming in B.C. Leggatt and his crew traveled around British Columbia talking to people and finding information about salmon farming to publish this report. It considers both the economic and environmental aspects of salmon aquaculture, cross-border conflicts with Alaska, and offers a detailed recommendation for the sustainability of the fish aquaculture industry in B.C. waters. The findings and quotes were very useful and nice to read; it isn't unbearably long, yet covers important points of the controversy.

Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Fisheries. (2003, December 29).

Fisheries and aquaculture studies and reports. Retrieved Nov. 11, 2004 from http://www.agf.gov.bc.ca/fisheries/studies_rpts_detail.htm.

The British Columbia government's Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries site contains brief summaries and links to reports and studies relating to fisheries and aquaculture. Listings are grouped by type of fishery, FAQs, licensing and regulation information, statistics and

fish health. Also available from this site is a compare/contrast chart of the Salmon Aquaculture Review of 1997 and the 2002 Pacific Fisheries Resource Conservation Council Report. This is another informative, reliable source for interested parties.

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. National Agriculture Compliance Assistance Center. (2004). *Aquaculture Operations-Laws, Regulations, Policies, and Guidance*. Retrieved Dec. 5, 2004 from <http://www.epa.gov/agriculture/anaqulaw.html>

Discusses restrictions on aquaculture operations and provides links to specific laws, regulations, and policies. The EPA provides information on the Clean Water Act as well as research and related publications regarding the effects of aquaculture. The effluent guidelines for wastewater discharges were particularly helpful in writing this paper.

U.S. Department of State. *Invasive species*. Retrieved Dec. 5, 2004 from <http://www.state.gov/g/oes/ocns/inv/>

This is basically a statement about the harmful nature of invasive species on our country and a description of the plans/committees, which have been established to combat their negative effects. The page provides links to the actual text of these plans (National Management Plan, etc.) and information pages on the various organizations established to create/ enforce the plans (National Invasive Species Council, etc.).



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Homo Sovieticus: **Survival and Optimism in** **Stalinist Russia**

Adrianne Knott

History 425: The Soviet Union
Dr. Elizabeth Dennison, Professor

By nature, revolutions are optimistic. These are movements based upon the idea that positive change can be achieved through the action of the masses. In the case of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, it can be seen as one of the most optimistic revolutions of all time, as it hoped to change a quasi-feudal agrarian society into a highly industrialized socialist nation, a nation that would lead a world-wide proletarian revolution. Unfortunately, as with almost all revolutions, things did not go as they had been planned. The economic and social pressures brought on by the subsequent civil war (1917-1921) created a series of crises for the fledgling soviet regime, and the 1924 death of the party's charismatic leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, brought turmoil not only to the country, but to the highest echelon of the struggling government. Between 1924 and 1927, Josef Stalin rose to fill the power vacuum left by Lenin's sudden death, and ushered the Soviet Union and her citizens into a new era of hardship and turmoil. Stalin's reign was marked by some of the most devastating events faced by the Soviet Union, including several famines, constant shortages of food and

housing, the Second World War, and the Great Purges of 1937-1938. These troubles, in conjunction with deliberate governmental efforts to recreate the culture of the masses, created what Shelia Fitzpatrick calls an “emerging social species, *Homo Sovieticus*.”¹ The changes that gave rise to the new soviet person came from a variety of sources, including Stalin's economic and social policies, shortages of goods and housing, and the changing class structure and social hierarchy of the Soviet Union, a nation that was rapidly becoming a modern, industrial society. This new “social species” had different habits, attitudes, values, and morals than its Russian predecessor, most of which were reactions to living under constant fear and uncertainty. The most notable characteristic of this new type of individual, however, was not their fear, cynicism, or bitterness; it was their constant optimism and hope that the future would bring something better. The presence of this hope suggests that the tumult of the 1930s, while great, was not enough to crush to spirit of this new species, *Homo sovieticus*, which Fitzpatrick argues was “above all... a survivor.”²

Stalin's economic policies were one of the chief causes of change in the Soviet Union during the 1930s and thus were some of the main forces “sovietizing” society. As a result of the abrupt change from nearly-capitalist policies of the NEP period to the rapid industrialization and collectivization of Stalin's ‘Five Year Plans,’ a vast number of people were thrust into the industrial working class, while the social and agricultural structures of peasant villages were irreparably altered. These changes were met with mixed reactions from the populace, ranging from blind enthusiasm to bitter opposition. Many peasants who lived in villages or on farms that were collectivized under the first Five Year Plan had negative reactions to the changes brought on by these policies. Maria Belskaia expressed her bitterness towards Stalin in her memoir “Arina's Children,” she lamented, “Just because one clever fool decided to immortalize himself in history, the peasants – the hard-

working farmers, the true masters of the land and of the grain – had to suffer, and their old people, women, and children had to suffer along with them.”⁵ These sentiments were shared by many disenfranchised peasants who, like Belskaia, felt that they were “conspired and plotted against.”⁴ In general, a feeling of having been made a victim was what characterized the attitudes of these *kolkhozniks*, thus this aspect was made a broad addition to the identity of the soviet peasant.

Others had positive reactions to the changes brought on by collectivization and industrialization, however. One such individual is the famous Stakhanovite, Pasha Angelina, who has written about the “great feeling” of knowing that “people need your work and wish you well,” claiming that the people of her collective farm (*kolkhoz*) had “been transformed” and “found faith in the future and become its steadfast supporters.”⁵ Another memoirist who recalls having an initially positive reaction to industrialization is Lidia Libedinskaia, who wrote, “We children eagerly inhaled the free air mixed with construction dust,” reflecting upon the childish enthusiasm she felt living in Moscow during industrialization.⁶ As one would expect, the range of reactions that individuals had to industrialization and collectivization depended upon how these programs affected them as individuals. These effects varied greatly from city to *kolkhoz* and across the classes, greatly changing culture, as well as the economy. On the whole, the soviet government was working to proletarianize the populace, thereby justifying and fulfilling their own revolutionary prophecies.

These positive reactions also reflected the new, state-prescribed soviet attitudes and values, especially the love of work and of modernity. Sheila Fitzpatrick sums up the value placed upon work by the Soviet government (as well as the Soviet people) in stating that “work under Soviet conditions was regarded as a transformative experience because it was collective and imbued with a sense of purpose.”⁷ Not only was work supposed to be “transfor-

mative” on the individual level (a notion which was given much lip service by Soviet officials in regards to the prison camp system), but some attributed positive social change to the value of work. The Soviet regime sought to transmit the Bolshevik values of discipline and duty to society through propaganda and policy and was often successful in doing so. Z.S. Bugadian, a female Stakhanovite, credited Soviet rule and new work conditions with the liberation of women in Armenian villages, “Women were virtual slaves,” she stated, “Now our female kolkhozniks have become free. Now they sometimes make more money than their husbands. How can your husband exploit you when you make more money than he does?”⁸

Another way in which one can see the effort to proletarianize the population was through the alteration of the social and class structure of the Soviet Union; most importantly, the categories of “proletariat” and “bourgeois” were given new characteristics and subclasses under Stalinism. The most significant new group that was formed was the Stakhanovites. These super-productive workers gained immense amounts of privileges, sometimes even finding themselves in government positions; they were the elite of the proletariat, a class within a class. Many working-class soviet citizens strove to attain this status at any cost, sometimes spurred on by the pressure from family members. In a speech, one woman stated that, before her husband became a Stakhanovite, she repeatedly asked her husband “why he couldn’t become a Stakhanovite,” and was “very upset” because he had not yet achieved that status.⁹ For the most part, the workers who fought to become Stakhanovites acted publicly as if the privileges they gained from this status were secondary to the pleasure they received from being a good worker and supporting the Soviet system. This is exemplified in Pasha Angelina’s humble (and oft-quoted) statement, “I rose *together with the people*, I became a hero along with the people. That is the most important thing.”¹⁰ Not all reactions to the Stakhanovite movement were positive, however; many workers

resented Stakhanovites and the privileges they received, often saying that they “made money at the expense of other workers.”¹¹

Other classes and subclasses continued to be expanded and refined throughout the Stalinist period. Artificial groups such as “class enemies,” and *kulaks* gained new members constantly throughout this period, as these labels would be applied to almost anyone against whom legal action was taken under Stalin’s regime. Ekaterina Olitskaia was one of many individuals arrested during Stalin’s Terror that expressed confusion over the expansion of the ranks of the “enemy.” “I thought I was losing my mind,” wrote Olitskaia, “Everyone was turning out to have been a traitor... I did not know what or who to believe.”¹² Despite the confusion that was created, it was common at this time for people to believe that these labels were, in fact, meaningful. These manufactured enemies helped to justify not only the policies of the government, but also the sacrifices made and the fears felt by the people because of these policies. Often people did not realize the fact that these labels were almost invariably inaccurate until they or their loved ones were targeted; one woman expressed this sentiment, lamenting, “My son, my family, and my friends consider me an enemy of the people. That is exactly what I used to think of the others before I was arrested.”¹³

This quotation also exemplifies the contradiction that was taking place between the total trust of the government that many felt (in part this was probably a remnant of the “Good Father” attitudes many Russians had under the paternalistic Tsarist system), and the disillusionment that came with unjust treatment. From this contradiction emerged a feeling of personal blamelessness which became an important characteristic of *Homo sovieticus*, especially those whose habitat was the Stalinist prison camp system. This aspect of the new Soviet person is exemplified in Solzhenitsyn’s *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, as the title character in this novella asks the question that was on the lips of almost every prison camp

inmate in the Soviet Union: "But why am I here?"¹⁴

Along with a changing social structure, came new traditions, often emerging from state-supported efforts to create a new, "soviet" culture, efforts which especially focused upon the secularization of society. Two emerging soviet traditions that best exemplify this effort are the ritual of Octobrism and the transformation of traditional "red corners." Octobrism was meant to replace the tradition of baptism and was especially popular during the 1920s, it was "like a big holiday," as one woman recalls, on which the baby was named and inducted into the Octobrist organization for young communists.¹⁵ The red corner became the place where a family would keep portraits of party leaders, diplomas, and other revolutionary memorabilia, replacing traditional Orthodox icons; in this it can be seen that the Soviet government was truly trying to turn politics into the state religion, a process which had been started by the early Bolsheviks.¹⁶ The gradual success of this process of secularization is noted in *One Day in the Life*, as the narrator states that "Russians didn't even remember which hand to cross yourself with."¹⁷ Removing religion and tradition from the lives of the Russian people was not an easy task, however, and many of the old ways remained. In Valentina Bogdan's memoir, "Students in the First Five-Year Plan", she recounts her secret (and very illegal) Orthodox wedding, which her mother insisted upon, saying that "there can be no marriage without a proper church."¹⁸

Throughout the years of Stalin's reign, the forces of proletarianization and secularization gradually forged a new set of soviet values. These included the aforementioned feelings of blamelessness, victimization, and love of work, but while these came from specific conditions related to the formal sovietization of society, there were other values which were more widespread and emerged as products of the overarching effect that the Soviet system had upon society. The Soviet system, especially in its Stalinist form, encouraged characteristics such as conformity and adaptability, as well as

a constant feeling of insecurity. These characteristics reached across the classes and groups more than many others, and are some of the more prominent characteristics of *Homo sovieticus*.

The need for conformity had been stressed from the very beginning of the Soviet Union, but took on particular significance under Stalinism. Lack of political or ideological conformity would likely mean a death sentence for anyone who let these characteristics be known to others; under Stalin, conformity became a survival technique. Unfortunately for many, including the elite of the Communist party, this lesson was often learned too late. In Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, the protagonist, Rubashov, is forced to make a confession which includes the statement, "I plead guilty to having placed the idea of man above the idea of mankind," clearly exemplifying the Soviet concern with collective good over individual welfare.¹⁹ This need for conformity not only meant a need for silence, but it meant a need for humility, a characteristic expressed nicely in Pasha Angelina's statement that she achieved success "*together with the people*."²⁰

Adaptability was probably the most important skill developed by a Soviet citizen. One way this adaptability manifested was in the ability of *Homo sovieticus* to survive in Stalinist society. The main way in which these people survived was through making personal connections and working together. This is evident both in the prison camp system, as well as outside. In the prison camps, prisoners often viewed their fellow inmates as a new family, as in *One Day in the Life*, where the narrator states, "It was a family. Your [prison] gang."²¹ On the "outside," these quasi-familial connections were just as important, as one needed to have connections and "pull" (*blat*) in order to obtain basic necessities. The importance of this system was stressed by one soviet citizen in a letter to a government official; he wrote, "Not to have *blat*, that's the same thing as having no civil rights."²²

The most important aspect of the adaptability of *Homo sovieti-*

cus, however, was the ability to make the best of a bad situation; optimism was not only an inherent characteristic of *Homo sovieticus*, but was an important survival skill. Despite the constant fear of arrest, shortages of housing and goods, and the other hardships of the Stalinist era, there were still many who held the same belief as Evdokia Maslennikova, that “only in the Soviet Union are the people masters of their own happiness, their own fate.”²⁴ Granted, Maslennikova was remarkably successful in the Soviet system, but even those who found themselves in the worst possible situations did not give up hope. An example of this enduring optimism in the face of unparalleled hardship is found in Ekaterina Olitskaia’s “My Reminiscences,” wherein she recalls two young women she met who had received ten-year prison sentences but whose motto was “We are learning about life.”²⁵ Above all, it seems that *Homo sovieticus* believed the regime’s suggestions that the future would bring some kind of proletarian utopia and that the period of hardship was a means to an end, an idea expressed by a Soviet schoolgirl under the first Five Year Plan: “It will be paradise once the plan has been fulfilled.”²⁶

The new being created in the Soviet Union, *Homo sovieticus*, was forged out of the processes of industrialization, collectivization, and secularization. *Homo sovieticus* was created from fear, insecurity, and conformity; this new “social species” was a creature cast in the crucible of unprecedented hardship and turmoil. However, this new type of individual would not allow for a descent into despair and helplessness, as may be anticipated considering the conditions of its habitat. Perhaps it was the constant need for adaptability that kept the desire to survive fresh in Soviet society, or perhaps it was the optimism that is inherent in Marxist thought that kept their hope alive. Perhaps the optimism of the Soviet populace was the same optimism which fueled the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. But regardless of what generated this feeling, we can now see that *Homo sovieticus* was not only, as stated by Fitzpatrick, “a survivor,” but also an optimist.

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Footnotes

- ¹ Shelia Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford UP, 1999), 1.
- ² Ibid., 227.
- ³ Shelia Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine, *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women From 1917 to the Second World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2000), 225.
- ⁴ Ibid., 225.
- ⁵ Ibid., 318.
- ⁶ Ibid., 297.
- ⁷ Fitzpatrick, 75.
- ⁸ Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, 336.
- ⁹ Ibid., 359.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., 307.
- ¹¹ Fitzpatrick, 106.

¹² Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, 431.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Italics in original text. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (New York: Bantam, 1963), 199.

¹⁵ Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, 189.

¹⁶ Ibid., 285.

¹⁷ Solzhenitsyn, 15.

¹⁸ Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, 274.

¹⁹ Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon*, (New York: Bantam, 1941 and 1968), 153.

²⁰ Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, 307.

²¹ Solzhenitsyn, 96-97.

²² A discussion of this tradition, as well as the term *blat* can be found in: Fitzpatrick, 62-66.

²³ Ibid., 62.

²⁴ Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, 393.

²⁵ Ibid., 426.

²⁶ Ibid., 253.



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Performance: *Cruzada*

Katya Kuznetsova

Dance 697: Independent Study
Dr. Gabrielle Barnett, Adjunct Professor

Creating this dance was a fascinating challenge. This was to be expected because I wanted to approach the choreographic process both as a ritual and as a method of inquiry. My point of departure was an overwhelming sense of longing: nostalgia mixed with irresistible desire to understand my place at that time. The process that followed demanded embracing the body as a source of knowledge and allowing the movement to be a vehicle for discovery.

The most direct reference of the title *Cruzada* is to a move in Argentine Tango where the follower crosses feet to get on the same path as the leader. My goal was not to construct an “alternative” Tango dance, but to cross-reference my experiences of movement with those of the four dancers I was working with. I was curious about how the meaning of this dance would be constructed socially throughout all stages and venues of its development: during rehearsals, performances, publicity, post-performance discussions, and through my own memories and imagination.

Individual and group improvisations on text and movement ideas, discussions about our lives as dancers, writing exercises and journaling were important tools throughout the creative process. They helped us bridge our differences and find a common ground

to nurture a collective story about crossing paths and moving from one intersection of experiences to another. Once *Cruzada* formed a life of its own, it became all the things that we came across during the process: play, conversation, curiosity, passion, power, enlightenment, search, questions, resolutions and transformations. At the end, I have gained more than a resolution to my unrest. My main reward was the fact that those of us invested in the life of this piece made unexpected discoveries together and formed meaningful connections to each other.



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Political Poetry in the Aftermath of September 11, 2001: An Analysis of Auden's "September 1, 1939" and Baraka's "Somebody Blew Up America"

Mercedes O'Leary

English 351: Poetry
Dr. Suzanne Forster, Associate Professor

In his 1994 essay "Can Poetry Matter?" literary critic Dana Gioia pessimistically declared that poetry no longer mattered to the public at large. Gioia maintained that the institutionalization of poetry through the creation of insular poetic communities, such as MFA creative writing programs, rather than engendering a renewed public interest in poetry, served to further distance non-poets from poetry. Gioia writes, "American Poetry now belongs to a subculture. No longer part of the mainstream of artistic and intellectual life, it has become the specialized occupation of a relatively small and isolate group. Little of the frenetic activity it generates ever reaches outside that closed group" (1). In the 1990s most Americans denied poetry a role in their lives, and therefore poetry was in danger of becoming an irrelevant and extraneous art form. While poetry continued to be written at astounding rates, it had a very narrow audience and distribution. Gioia expressed dismay that poetry bordered on becoming totally insignificant to American culture.

However, in 2004, poetry has again become culturally relevant,

though for reasons that Gioia probably could never have imagined. When the World Trade Centers collapsed on September 11, 2001, Americans were left to grapple not only with the loss of friends and family, but also with the implications that the events of 9/11 posed. First, America was no longer invincible, but a target for heinous acts of terror. Secondly, Americans were forced to recognize the hatred that the United States inspired in people across the world. The tension Americans felt could not adequately be described or explained in prosaic terms. Thus, the atrocious events of 9/11 spawned a renewed interest in poetry, and in particular, political poetry. Poetry has since assumed two prominent roles in American culture. The first role is that in a time of fear, anger, and grief people are comforted by poetry. The second role is that poetry has become a conspicuous vehicle for public dissent.

W.H. Auden's poem "September 1, 1939" and Amiri Baraka's poem "Somebody Blew Up America" are fine examples of how significant political poetry has become to American culture in the aftermath of 9/11. In the days immediately following 9/11, newspapers across the country frequently reprinted "September 1, 1939." Audiences identified with the speaker of the poem and were comforted by Auden's message about the need for love in a time of crisis. Read in the context of both 9/11 and in its own historical context, "September 1, 1939" demonstrates the tendency of people to overlook serious issues, until those issues have climaxed into international conflict. Written shortly after 9/11, Amiri Baraka's poem of dissent, "Somebody Blew Up America," is about how the United States has perpetuated terrorism both domestically and internationally. Unlike Auden, Baraka was severely condemned for this poem and was accused of being anti-Semitic. Both poems express a fundamental concern for the power that imperialistic governments wield. An analysis of "September 1, 1939" and "Somebody Blew Up America" reveals the power of poetry to combat personal distress and raise political concerns at times of

domestic and international instability.

"September 1, 1939" gained remarkable popularity in the days after 9/11, in large part because people were able to identify with the speaker of the poem. In the first stanza, the speaker describes feeling "Uncertain and afraid / As the clever hopes expire /.../ The unmentionable odour of death / Offends the September night" (3-11). The tone of these lines is somber, and the sparseness of the diction adds a quality of sad reluctance to the poem. There is a sense that the speaker is stricken with the fact that there is nothing he can do, that the major events of life are completely out of his control. Reading the last two lines in the context of 9/11 is chilling. If the reader was present in New York on the evening of 9/11, he or she cannot help but recall what New York smelled like that evening. If the reader was not in New York, he or she cannot help but imagine what New York might have smelled like. "Unmentionable" is a particularly striking word when reading this from the perspective of 9/11. People knew that in all likelihood, any loved ones that were in the Towers when the planes crashed were dead. However, for days after the attack, people maintained hope that their loved ones had survived. The syntax of the last line, "offends the September night," is extremely evocative. Though the line is simple, the audience can identify with the speaker's repulsion and the feeling of ultimate powerlessness.

Scholar Stephen Burke expounds on the need of Americans to seek comfort through poetry in the aftermath of 9/11. Burke writes, "'September 1, 1939,' thus became (or became again) . . . a typical example of the kind of poetic object academic readers now seek: it described shared, urgent clearly public concerns for a large body of people who, demonstrably wanted to read it" (535). Individuals are reassured by realizing that they don't have to experience horrific life events in isolation; that others before them have lived through similar atrocious life experiences and survived. Part of the appeal of Auden's poem is that because it is not contem-

porary, it seems to offer a voice of wisdom from the past. Reading the poem in the context of 9/11 makes Auden seem like prophet, whose profundity comforts the masses.

In the days following 9/11, people were also comforted by the call for love which Auden makes in his poem. He writes, "And no one exists alone; / Hunger allows no choice / To the citizen or police; / We must love one another or die" (85-88). In grief and fear, Americans united together after the September 11 attacks. When Auden writes, "And no one exists alone," the reader is reminded that in the 9/11 crisis, grief was not merely individual, but affected the entire nation. In these lines, Auden uses punctuation very carefully. The enjambment of lines 86-87 further establishes a sense of unity. "Hunger" is symbolic of larger national problems. If a nation is hungry, the nation must find a way to eat. Similarly, if a nation's security is threatened, the nation must unite and find a way to prevail. The end stop at the end of line 88 gives the stanza a sense of finality. If people don't love one another, Auden claims, they will not survive. It is not hard to imagine why Auden's profound plea for the nation to gather together appealed to the country in the aftermath of September 11.

Though "September 1, 1939" can easily be read in the context of 9/11, its original intent was to express the fear that engulfed the world on the eve of WWII. The following is an excerpt from a speech given by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain on September 1, 1939:

The time has come when action rather than speech is required. Eighteen months ago in this House I prayed that the responsibility might not fall upon me to ask this country to accept the awful arbitrarment of war...the responsibility for this terrible catastrophe lies on the shoulders of one man – the German Chancellor, who has not hesitated to plunge the world into misery in order to serve his own senseless ambitions. (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/gb1.htm>)

"September 1, 1939" was composed not long after Auden moved to the United States from England and is essentially his response to this speech. In 1939, with the blitzkrieg of Poland, Germany had manifestly become the world's most menacing nation. It was the horror, the pure "shock and awe" of the Polish blitzkrieg, that ignited WWII. In 2001, again, it was the same sudden infliction of terror and ultimate horror against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon that prompted our country to declare war on its instigators. Thus, another reason why "September 1, 1939" is easily read from the perspective of 9/11 is because the poem can be generally understood as a statement about the dangers of terrorism and imperialism, both in 1939 and 2001.

Auden speaks out against imperialism in the fourth stanza. In this stanza, Auden suggests that every nation is responsible for initially disregarding the atrocities that Germany committed. Auden writes:

Each language pours its vain competitive excuse:
But who can live for long
In an euphoric dream;
Out of the mirror they stare,
Imperialism's face
And the international wrong. (38-44)

Auden uses metonymy when he refers to the collective nations as "each language." He implies that each nation was accountable for the coming war because they each had an "excuse" and ignored the rising power of Hitler. In essence, Auden insinuates that the rise of Nazi Germany's imperialism is a reflection of the other nations' initial unconcerned attitudes towards Hitler. In many ways, America prior to 9/11 can also be described as living in a "euphoric dream" because, though anti-American sentiments were rising throughout the 1990's, most Americans were oblivious and considered the United States to be the epitome of security. From another perspective, international terrorism can also be correlated to

American ignorance and apathy about atrocities the United States, itself, has committed abroad. The phrase “international wrong” is wonderfully ambiguous. In the context of 1939, it refers both to Hitler and to the longstanding international indifference of nations towards Hitler. In the context of 2001, it can be read as a reference to international terrorism, or as a reference to the “international wrongs” that America has inflicted as an economically imperialistic country.

Amiri Baraka’s poem “Somebody Blew Up America” specifically addresses the United States as an imperialistic nation that deserves retribution from the oppressed. Baraka compares the United States, in fact, to Nazi Germany. For this reason, Baraka’s poem was severely condemned in the aftermath of 9/11. Baraka begins his poem as such:

(All thinking people
oppose terrorism
both domestic and international
But one should not
be used to cover the other). (1-5)

The tone of the first lines is impertinent; the speaker is almost off putting with his presumptuous attitude about the events of 9/11. Baraka encloses the first stanza in parentheses, making it seem like a side note to the rest of the poem. In lines 4 and 5, Baraka clearly implicates the United States as a root cause for all terrorism. By equating “domestic terrorism” with “international terrorism,” he implies, like Auden, that everyone is guilty for letting terrorism persist.

Baraka sites the treatment of Native Americans and African Americans as examples of white Americans engaging in acts of terrorism. He writes, “Who got fat from plantations / Who genocided Indians / Tried to waste the Black nation” (31-33). The anaphora of “who” is repeated almost throughout the entire poem. Baraka uses “who” to indict nations and individuals guilty of committing

heinous crimes, without actually naming those people or those nations. The word “who” is effective because it demands that audiences think about who bears responsibility for acts of terror. In these lines, Baraka refers to white plantation owners who owned and abused black slaves, to the many government sponsored assaults on Native Americans, and to organizations like the Ku Klux Klan that strove (and still strive) to eradicate black Americans. Later in the poem Baraka expands the United States’ role in terrorism, and writes, “Who wants the world to be ruled by imperialism and national oppression and terror / violence and hunger and poverty” (213-214). The “who” in this line is undoubtedly the United States. Essentially, Baraka suggests that the United States government acts with ulterior motives in foreign relations and that, in some respects, the United States benefits by supporting and perpetuating acts of “oppression and terror.” By perpetuating oppression and terror, the United States preserves its status as the number one world power.

Scholar Piotr Gwiazda of the University of Maryland contends that it is necessary for poets like Baraka to express political dissent and that, by expressing dissent, poets participate in the continual development of American identity. Gwiazda states that political poetry functions “in subverting dominant ideologies” (462). Baraka contends that the United States is highly accountable for sustaining terrorism, and thus subverts the dominant American ideology that our nation is the epitome of goodness. Americans, by and large, tend to be ignorant of many of the atrocities the United States government has committed. Only by raising cultural awareness, can change ever be affected.

Baraka was mainly condemned, however, for a stanza in the poem which was considered to be anti-Semitic. The stanza, and the line preceding it, reads,

Who set the Reichstag Fire
Who knew the World Trade Center was gonna get bombed
Who told 4000 Israeli workers at the Twin Towers

To stay home that day

Why did Sharon stay away? (202-206)

The “who” in the above stanza refers to Israel and implies that Israel had forewarning on the attack on the Twin Towers. The stanza further accuses Israel of warning fellow Israelis of the danger, but not of warning Americans. However, there is no actual proof that 4000 Israelis worked at the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001 (Gwiazda 465). Thus, Baraka has been accused of being anti-Semitic for falsely implicating the Israeli nation in an abhorrent crime which there is no evidence of them having committed.

I included line 202, “Who set the Reichstag fire,” because Gwiazda contends Baraka is not anti-Semitic but that Baraka consciously inserted a myth into his poem. Gwiazda explains that Hitler gained anti-Semitic support by spreading a false rumor that the Jews burnt down the German Parliamentary building, the Reichstag. Gwiazda states, “The proximity of the two passages is not accidental. It signals . . . in my view, the poem’s larger preoccupation with how myths and lies influence historical events” (469). Taking this interpretation then, Baraka is essentially mocking the many rumors that surrounded 9/11. Baraka is not anti-Semitic, but it is criticizing anti-Semitic type behavior where rumor is taken for fact, and instigates violent and irrational historic events.

Baraka proposes that Hitler used the burning of Reichstag as an excuse to dismantle the civil liberties of Jews, just as President Bush has used 9/11 to dismantle the civil liberties of all Americans through bills such as the Patriot Act. Gwiazda comments, “Although some readers may balk at the implied analogy between Bush and Hitler, that is not Baraka’s point. Rather, this part of the poem alerts us to the facility with which a convenient falsehood can be transformed into a convenient fact—and why myths like the one Baraka incorporates here are manufactured in the first place” (469). Gwiazda observes that in “Somebody Blew Up America” Baraka compares the similar ways in which Hitler and Bush manip-

ulated historic fact and created myths in order to maintain power. The War in Iraq, the Patriot Act, the War on Terrorism, and the detainment camp at Guantanamo Bay are all examples of how Bush has managed to distort the events of 9/11 in order to pursue his own agenda.

It is intriguing that Baraka inspired so much condemnation for supposedly propagating anti-Semitic propaganda, and yet Bush has yet to be held accountable for the myths he has propagated. Acclaimed folklorist Margaret Randall states, "If folklore is defined, at least etymologically, as 'widely held but false or unsubstantiated beliefs,' why is the administration's rhetoric not considered folkloric?" (290). The Bush administration wields language and creates myths about terrorism, the state of our nation, and the need for war. What then, are Americans to believe? Obviously, some horrible force is at work in the world, and yet the dishonesty of our own imperialistic government prevents us from being able to accurately assess what that "horrible force" really is. Randall continues, "We should not doubt that an orchestrated campaign to get U.S. Americans to think alike – to join a mainstream yet unsubstantiated, view of reality is underway" (291). Poetry is needed, now more than ever, to offer a voice of dissent and to compete against the myths that the Bush administration propagates. The government will wield its deceptive language, and the poets will attempt to offer voices of comfort and of dissent to those who instinctively understand that reality is being increasingly obscured.

Read together, Baraka's and Auden's poems suggest that imperialism and terrorism are in many ways competing dangers that feed on each other. However, in 2001 America embraced Auden because his poem "September 1, 1939" was easy to identify with and inspired people to unite. In effect, Auden's poem helped Americans cope with grief and offered wisdom on living in a period of uncertainty. However, Baraka's poem "Somebody Blew Up America," while just as condemning of imperialism, was largely

rejected by mainstream culture. Baraka raised important political concerns in his poem, concerns that probably disturbed many Americans. Perhaps Baraka's poem suggests that poetry of dissent continues to marginally matter to the American public at large. However, if dissent poetry was truly culturally insignificant, then no one would have publicly made an issue out of "Somebody Blew Up America."

So I return again to Dana Gioia's question: "Can poetry matter?" Poetry no longer belongs only to insular poetic communities, but has again gained relevance to non-poets. Sam Hamill, the editor of an anthology of poetry against the war in Iraq writes, "A government is a government of words, and when those words are used to mislead, to instill fear or invite silence, it is the duty of every poet to speak fearlessly and clearly" (xxi). Today, many Americans look to political poets for inspiration, to be comforted in a time of great distress, and to increase awareness of the deceptive nature of the Bush administration. Poetry is the best weapon to combat personal distress and raise political concerns in times of domestic and international instability, because it has the power to describe the indescribable. Poets own ambiguity and nuance, and those are the best tools with which to explore abstract and complex issues, such as terrorism and imperialism in the twenty-first century.

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